THE LIFE AND WORK OF PALMYRA WOOD, A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY : INCLUDING A DESCRIPTION OF HIS TRAVELS, THE FIRST DRAFT OF HIS ESSAY ON HOMER, AND A COMMENTARY ON THE PLACE OF THE ESSAY IN ENGLISH AND GERMAN CRITICISM

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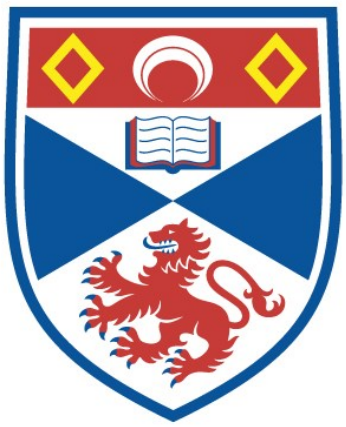
A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1928

CERTIFICATE.

I certify that Mr. James Moncur has spent nine terms in Research Work in English and German, that he has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance No. 16 (St. Andrews), and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for the degree of Ph.D.

DECLARATION.

I hereby declare that the following thesis is the result of research work carried out by me, that all transcriptions of original manuscripts were made by myself, that the thesis is entirely my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a higher degree.

The transcripts were made in the British Museum, in the Record Office, London, and in the Library of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, London.

The thesis was composed in the University Library and in the Library of the University of Würzburg.

CAREER.

I first matriculated in the University of St. Andrews in October, 1919, and followed a course of study in the Faculty of Arts, specialising in English and German. I gained the Class Medal in General History; General, and Special and Honours German; General and Honours English. I graduated Master of Arts with First Class Honours in Modern Languages (English - German) in October, 1923. In Session 1923-24 I was awarded the Berry Scholarship, and was Student-Tutor in the German Department of the Uni: :versity.

For the three years 1925-28 I held a Carnegie Research Scholarship, and since September, 1925, I have been continuously engaged in research on the life and work of Robert Wood, the 18th century traveller and author of the "Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer." It is the result of this work which is sub: :mitted as a thesis for the degree of Ph.D.

The Life and Work of 'Palmyra' Wood, a biographical study: including a Description of his Travels, the first Draft of his Essay on Homer, and a Commentary on the place of the Essay in English and German Criticism:

being a thesis presented by

James Moncur

to the

University of St. Andrews,

in application for the degree of Ph. D.

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PREFACE.

Part I.

PREFACE.

Robert Wood, the editor of "The Ruins of Palmyra" and "The Ruins of Balbec," and author of the "Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer," was not one of the greatest figures of the 18th century: but he was eminent as a traveller, and his reputation in the world of letters was sufficiently high, and his life varied and interesting enough to justify, perhaps, the detailed inquiry into his life and work made here.

Wood's literary labours were interrupted by a period of political activity, and in the two years of life granted him after his retirement he was unable to utilise fully the material collected on his explorations. He left behind him several manuscripts, "but not sufficiently arranged to afford any hope of their being given to the public." [x] These literary remains, in the shape of diaries and notebooks, reappeared in 1925 after having been lost sight of for a century and a half, and are here as far as possible reduced to order. The survival of these manuscripts and of several diaries of Wood's travelling companions has made it possible to give a full account of Wood's two

[x] For a full description of the Wood M/SS., see Bibliography. I am indebted to the Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies for permission to use these manuscripts, and to the Librarian for unfailing courtesy.

expeditions to the East, about which practically nothing was known.

Wood, who was born in Ireland and educated in Scotland, travelled in the East, and returned to England to become Under-Secretary of State in Pitt's administration. Although he did not attain the highest office he was offered (but refused) the Board of Trade, and was thought of as Secretary for Ireland.

Remaining in office after Pitt resigned Wood played an important part in those negotiations which led to the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which ended the Seven Years' War: and under a later Secretary of State he conducted much more of the business of office than normally falls to one in his subordinate position.

In 1742-43 Wood travelled in Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt, making his way by stages as he best could. He repeated the journey in 1750-51 with two young gentlemen of fortune, one of whom was the interesting 'Jemmy' or 'Jamaica' Dawkins. This gentleman, already known in Jacobite circles in France as 'a good fellow', resumed his Jacobite activities promptly on his return from the East. He supported the cause of Prince Charles Edward with money; became his agent at the court of Frederick the Great of Prussia; and took a leading part in hatching plots against the English Government, with which his fellow-traveller was shortly to be officially associated.

The immediate fruits of Wood's travels were "The Ruins of Palmyra" (1753) and "The Ruins of Balbec" (1757), works which were widely acclaimed as perfect specimens of their kind, and which secured the editor's literary fame many years before the Essay on Homer (1769) won him a European reputation. The death of Wood occurred when he was contem: :plating a further volume which was to contain a comparison of the Heroic, Patriarchal and Bedouin manners, a subject touched on in the Essay on Homer, but not treated fully. This work, if we can judge from Wood's descriptions in Pal: :myra and Balbec, would have provided his contemporaries with the highest entertainment and instruction.

The account of Wood's travels which follows, compiled from his and his companions' diaries and from his published works, will illustrate in some measure the state of the manners and customs of the peoples among whom he journeyed, and may even today be not wholly devoid of interest as a record of travel.

In Germany the Essay on Homer was one of the stimulating books of the century, with an influence far beyond the bounds of classical scholarship and Homeric study; and from at least one German literary historian it has received very high praise as a contribution to that phase of English 18th century criticism which heralded what he calls "the over: :throw of Classicism; the urge towards Originality (der Drang nach Ursprünglichkeit)". It is probable that this writer has

exaggerated the importance of the Essay; but consideration shows it to have been not without significance in the history of English criticism.

LIFE OF WOOD TO 1743, INCLUDING A DESCRIPTION OF HIS TRAVELS IN THAT YEAR.

Part I. Chapter I.

Life of Wood to 1743, including a Description of his Travels in that year.

Robert Wood was born in 1716 or 1717, the younger son of the Rev. Alexander Wood, a Dissenting Minister of Summer: :hill (in the Parish of Laracor), a hamlet near Trim, Co. Meath. Wood is said to have been born in the Castle of Riverstown, near Trim. This may be correct if the castle belonged at that time to the Rowley family, who endowed a Unitarian congregation at Summerhill, and to whom Wood's father was Chaplain. The Woods apparently were English, for Robert Wood is entered in the Matriculat: :ion Albums of Glasgow as Ang: Hib: F Revdi Viri Alexandri Wood. V.D.M. (Verbi Dei Minister).

1. From Office of Arms. Dublin.

Revd. Alexander Wood = of Summerhill, Co. Meath. Dissenting Minister. Chaplain to the Rowley family at Summerhill.

- Rowley Wood, of Dublin, Merchant. Prerogative Administration Intestate. 27 Feb. 1758.
- Robert. M.P. Brackley. Matric. at Glasgow 1732.

What is probably the Marriage Licence of Wood's parents reads:- Alexander Woods, of Faragh, Co. Meath, and Letitia Galbraith, of St. Bridget, Dublin. 21 Apr. 1715.

The copy of the Parish Register for Laracor was lost in the destruction of the Four Courts at Dublin, as were all Wills of relevant date. The Marriage Licences in the Public Records Office do not go back far enough for the diocese of Meath. No information could therefore be obtained from these sources.

Of Wood's early life nothing is known except that in [2] 1732, when he was about sixteen, he matriculated at Glasgow, and his name occurs amongst the Nomina Disciplorum Classis Ethicae qui hoc anno Academiam intrarunt sub praesidio Mri. [x] Francisci Hutcheson. He is not included in the list of graduates of Glasgow, and so presumably he took no degree. Walpole mentions him as an [3] excellent classical scholar, and says he was at Oxford: but there is no record of this in the Oxford Matriculation Rolls; and as his name is neither in the Albums of Cambridge nor Trinity College, Dublin, it is possible that Glasgow was his only University.

There is no trave of his movements between 1732 and 1742, but he probably earned his living as a tutor. His training in classics suggests no other profession, for he did not proceed to the ministry, and he is nowhere men: :tioned as having held a public appointment: and it is almost certain he did not have a private income large enough to live on. Somewhat later in his life, in any case,

2. Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow. 1728 to 1858. p. 9.

x Francis Hutcheson. 1694 - 1947. Studied at Glasgow. Professor there from 1729 until his death. Author of "An Inquiry into the original of our ideas of beauty and virtue." London 1720: and an "Essay on the nature and conduct of passions and affections." London. 1728.

3 Walpole, H. - Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Third., Vol. I. Chap. 25. Note. "Wood, originally a travelling tutor and excellent classic scholar, is well known from those beautiful and simple Essays prefixed to the editions of the Ruins of Balbec and Palmyra."

he confesses to a complete lack of means. In a[4] letter to T. Stephens (written before 1758), he writes, "I am extremely sorry to be obliged to break in upon your pleasures with anything not perfectly agreeable, and yet I must inform you that our poor old jolly freind Doctor Irwin, at Rome, is preparing himself for the other world, and wrote me a most melancholy letter setting forth (tho' with becoming spirit and delicacy) how important to his health, to his ease and perhaps conducive to his recovery £100 would be, and that he did not know where he could borrow such a sum to carry him from Rome where to stay was certain and immediate death. Now my dear Steaphens as I know that you have feelings for indigent old helpless and friendless merit I need not tell you my situation, receiving such a letter, and litterally not having a hundred pence in the world that I can call my own and command. In short I have accepted Irwin's dra^{t} and must borrow the money to pay it. If you'll allow me to draw upon you for the amount of 260 crowns which Russel gave you on my account payable at such time as shall be convenient to you, my banker will take such a Dra^{t} from me if you'll accept it, and I shall willingly apply it to the relief of the Old Doctor, and contrive to make up the remainder as I can."

[4] West Papers. Correspondence of T. Steavens. B.M. Add. M.SS. 34, 732. p. 279.

Wood's fortunes had improved by 1758. In a[5] reference from that year we find, "Mr. Wood, so much to his Honour, distinguished by Mr. Secretary Pitt, is a Writer by Accident, not by Profession: and was already secur'd against any Reverse of Fortune, by the Gratitude and Generosity of former Friends." Whatever gain derived from the publication of 'Palmyra' (and presumably of 'Balbec' also) went to Wood, for Dawkins,[6] "while he highly enjoys the pleasure of contributing to the advancement of arts, declines the profit which may arise from this publication."

[5] Ralph - The Case of Authors by Profession or Trade Stated. 1758. p. 37.

[6] The Ruins of Palmyra. 1753. The publisher to the reader - last page.

The Travels of 1742 - 43.

Of the journey to the East undertaken by Wood in 1742 nothing was hitherto known beyond three incidental references in the published Essay. The actual journal of this tour is lost; but from[x] Nos. 18 and 23 of the Hellenic Society Manu: :scripts (and other sources) it is possible to reconstruct Wood's progress and describe his travels in some detail. The manuscript notes are not in chronological nor any other order. Remarks on architecture, manners, customs; on the Iliad and Odyssey; on the expeditions of 1742 and 1750 follow each other without regard to time or subject. The exact official diaries written by Dawkins on the second expedition, however, afford a ground for comparison, and certain notes can definitely be referred to 1742, as being inconsistent with what is known of the later tour. Of the infrequent dates given in the manuscripts a few obviously disagree with the itinerary of Dawkins; in several places Wood writes so consistently in this own person as to show that he was unaccompanied by close friends; and some of the adventures he relates are of such consequence that they could not possibly have been overlooked by Dawkins if he had experienced them also.

The reason for Wood's journeys was a keen desire, created by the "first tincture of Classical Learning" he received,

[x] Bibliography.

to see those places made famous by the writers and actions of antiquity. With this object in view he derived suffic: :ient entertainment to justify his travels in those Eastern lands, which could not otherwise have compensated for the trouble, expense, fatigue and danger entailed in traversing them. But although Wood's interest in these lands lay mainly in what they had been rather than what they were, he was not blind to the life around him. He had an eye for natural beauty and striking landscape effects, and a quick perception of the characteristic traits of the races he encountered: all of which he describes,(except in hastily written notes in his diaries) in a style remarkable for restraint, conciseness and complete lucidity, and occasionally distinguished by a quiet humour.

His confession of faith as a traveller is contained in what appears to have been a projected preface to a book of travels[1] (or he may have intended to include it in the Essay): and as Wood adheres to it to the letter it may be quoted in full. "An attempt to inform Mankind appears to imply such and such a supposition of their ignorance or of the Author's superior knowledge as requires some apology; hence it is thought necessary by those who court applause to premise, with humble submission, the reasons why they think themselves wiser than anybody else, and the manner in which they have been prevail'd upon to make public what

[1] Hellenic Soc. M.SS. No. 18. p. 25ff.

they originally intended only for private amusement. The solicitations of Friends, the fear of an incorrect Copy stealing into the World, and all the coquettry of a coy yielding author is play'd off by way of Preface. A Travel: ×:ler may I think without presumption dispense with this caressing as he lays claim to no knowledge but that which accident places in his way and rather pretends to have seen more than to have known more than the Reader; but if anybody require further submissions, I beg their pardon most heartily for having been in Egypt, Greece, or Italy, and assure them it was accidental, and not done with any intention to offend them: chance made the Traveller, and the Traveller has made the Author. I must indeed own that to the great variety of impertinence with which the Public is pester'd, none contri: :bute more largely than my Brother Travellers. Some, out of pure goodnature and an inclination to please, knowing that their Readers will not be much entertain'd by having things told as they really are, give an account of them as they really are not, from whence the word Traveller has been prostituted to mean something very different from a Person who has been in many Countries. Others, (who did they but confine themselves to tell plainly what they had seen, would be very tolerable) break loose into ingenious reflections upon the Government, Religion, Police, Manners, Antiquities, &c. &c. &c. and become quite the Monkey in the China Shop. The Title Page of those Gentlemen is only a modest declarat:

:ion of the Author to the Public that he is Antiquarian, Politician, Philosopher, Divine &c., and like a Mounte: :bank's harangue makes one suspect that to be good for nothing which is said to be good for everything. Others from the moment they set out begin to look upon themselves as the Hero of the piece and may be rather said to write their own lives than an account of the Countries they have seen; they take care not only to entertain you with elaborate descriptions of their hairbreadth escapes from Plagues, Storms, Earthquakes, and Arabs, but the distress of a bad Lodging or an exorbitant reckoning are now and then cir: :cumstantially dwelt upon, from not considering that a circumstance extremely important to ourselves may be per: :fectly indifferant to the Reader. We are apt to forget ourselves, or rather remember ourselves too much. I shall strive to avoid these impertinencies, which is perhaps (next to not writing at all) the surest way of having some merit, for if the Reader be not obliged to me for what I have written, he surely will for what I have omitted writing. Any entertainment that I can propose is of so confined a nature that I am afraid Persons of a general curiosity will find themselves greatly disappointed, to prevent which I must only address myself to Readers whose curiosity about those Countries arises rather from what they have been than what they are. The earliest tincture that I had of Classical Learning was attended with a very

impatient curiosity to see those Countries which produced Men who thought and acted in so superior a manner, Men who were wiser, braver, and perhaps better than any who have succeeded them, who did the greatest honour to Human Nature by their Virtues, and were great even in their vices, where Leonidas fought, where Plato taught and Homer sung. The Scenes of those immortal actions must I believe warm the most sluggish imagination, nor do I think it possible for any one who has heard of Leonidas or Miltiades to look upon the Streights of Thermopylae or Plains of Marathon as so much arable ground or pasture."

It is evident that Wood did not take part in any formal expedition in 1742. He was in four ships at least on his voyage to Egypt: and he seems to have proceeded from port to port as opportunity offered. It would appear, also, that he made his excursions alone, or with whatever com: :panions chance threw in his way He makes no mention - except in isolated passages - of fellow-travellers by name, as he must have inevitably have done if accompanied through: :out his whole journey by friends imbued with a common purpose.

In May 1742 Wood sailed from Venice in a Venetian ship the Erecole e Rosa, "commanded by Captain Rota, a skilful seaman and a good pilot." On his journey along the coast

1. Essay on Homer (1775) p.55. Here Wood says the voyage from Venice to Corfu was made in the Erecole e Rosa. For the illustration of the point he was making it was unnecessary to remark on the change of ships.

he did not trust himself to the inhabitants so far as to venture much among them, knowing, or discovering, their inhospitable nature - "There is a great resemblance in character between the ancient and modern inhabitants of the Croatian, Dalmatian and Albanian Coast, their impatience of a regular Government, their genius for War, Rapine and Piracy."

He landed at Rovigno, and thence "took a bark for Pola 34 miles, being obliged by contrary winds afterwards to put into Faesano, where we went ashore." As he con: :tinued the voyage(possibly in a different ship) Wood notes on entering the Ionian Sea and viewing the Acroceraunian hills that "the present inhabitants of those mountains are so lawless an inhospitable people that we did not set our foot ashore among them." Before entering the "Canall of Corfou" they anchored between some islands and the mainland, and "went ashore in the boat to a place call'd Madonna di Casiopo see Spon for the ridiculous miracle which we try'd by way of giving the Papas a piece of money... Above this Madonna di Casiopo is a high hill which we could also see from the town of Corfou. Our Captain told us that on the top of it there is a person lives whose business it is to acquaint the town of the coming of ships by lighting a fire."

From Corfu the ship (or another) coasted the Pellopo: :nessus, and met with mishap. "We coasted the Pelloponessus

for a considerable time we were ashore but at the Isola di Finocchia where while we were detained by contrary winds for some time we durst not venture far ashore the Magnotes being very remarkable plunderers. Our Captain told us that they often cut the Cables of Ships in the night time when they could steal nothing else.... As soon as the wind grew fair we made a second attempt to pass the Cape St. Angelo having lost our top Sail in the first effort, for this Cape justly preserves still among sailors the bad name given it by the Ancients when call'd Promontory Malea."

On June 25th Wood had reached Lemnos, and in the begin:ning of July "entered with a Caique into the mouth of the Scamander, and I believe I might have gone as far as a bridge which is built upon it about half a mile from its embouchure though there was very little water in it when I saw it." After a visit to the ruins of Alexandria Troas, "getting up before day to have the more time to view them," Wood went to[x] Constantinople, and "lay all night in a Felluca upon the shore opposite to Lampsacus about but nearer the Castles."

While at Constantinople he boarded "His Majesty's ship the Chatham, then escorting the Turkey trade from Constanti:nople to Scanderoon," which town was reached, after calls at Mytilene, Scio and Cyprus, early in October. From Scanderoon, "a most miserable hole situated in a marsh under

[x] Constantinople may have come before Troas.

high hills which makes it so unwholesome in summer that most people retire to Beylan about two hours and a half up the hills," the route lay through Beylan and Antioch, thence to "what they call the thousand Churches," and then via Seleucia to Aleppo.

With Aleppo as base a journey inland was undertaken which lasted twenty days and extended as far as Mesopotamia. The travellers crossed the Euphrates several times in their route through Bir, Orpha, Romuncola, Antab - back to their base. "When you travell through Syria," Wood writes, "you'll find besides the Turks, who are the faithful true Subjects of the Grand Signor, ~~the Climate or Soil invite~~ People who ramble from place to place as the Climate or Soil invites them who never yet could be brought into subjection by the Bashaw of Aleppo or the Governors of any of the Countrys thro' which they pass. These People are the Gurdins, the Bedouins, the Turkmans, also a set of People call'd by Maundrell the Bagdelites who deny the Sovereignty of the Prince of the Country and obey none but a Chief chosen out of their own body, live mostly upon the pillage of Caravans and Passengers, and have certain laws which they not only inviolably observe amongst themselves but with regard to other Societies."

With three gentlemen of the French Factory Wood set out from Aleppo "in the month of October." "We had provided ourselves with two tents and all kitchen furniture necessary

having seventeen horses in company besides our own which we rode upon. We travell'd the first morning three hours to a village call'd Fesin where there were a few deserted round houses made of mud in the shape of a beehive of which sort we saw many afterwards..... We pitch'd our tent upon the banks of the river which runs by it and in the afternoon passed along the S.E. side of the same river keeping it on our left hand for an hour and a half, and then pitch'd our tent on its banks for the convenience of water which was a very material affair and as it was not to be met with everywhere laid us under a necessity of making our jounney shorter or longer as it was to be found and sometimes we found ourselves oblig'd to carry it with us. Our days' journeys were moderate we seldom exceeding six hours and a half or seven hours which at the pace we kept made something more than twenty miles, by this means we generally repos'd from a little after ten till about two or later and escap'd the sun which tho' in October was very hot."

On the forenoon of the fourth day they reached the Euphrates opposite to Bir, and pitched their tents. They had passed through a sparsely inhabited district, but as the road they had chosen was the Caravan route to Orpha they "met severall travellers which makes the road safer than the road Maundrell took." The villages were poor and miserable. "Mezer is the only one tolerable, the situation

is agreeable thro' it runs a stream and about it are trees the only ones on the road." In the afternoon they crossed the Euphrates in a clumsy ferry boat open at both ends. "We pitch'd out tent in a little plain at the South side of the town and on the bank of the River having first visited the Musielema and refus'd the offer he made us of his house but accept'd the guard he order'd to attend us." In the river were one or two large islands where the Bedouins had their cattle and tents: "and their manner of going over to these islands has something particular in it. They make a raft of Lodetas(?) or Sheepskins blown up, but if they have but one or two Skins, they put their Cloaths into the Skin and blowing it up, tye it and putting themselves on it pass over and take out their Cloaths on the Shore. I have seen Women and Children pass in this way and we had the curiosity to try the experiment."

The fifth day was spend in seeing Bir, its Castle, the river and the country, and on the seventh they reached Orpha. "From Bir we found the Country hilly and barren as far as the first village but it grew better afterwards and continu'd so till after our dining place - the seventh day from whence to Orpha the country is rocky and the road excessive bad." The land was "worse inhabited" than on the other side of the Euphrates.

Two days were spent at Orpha viewing the town and the country about it, and on the tenth day they set out again,

"and in three hours and a half came to a green Spott of ground cover'd with some trees, and a stream running by it where we din'd we left our dining place a little sooner than we intended because of a squabble between two of our servants and some Bedouins and in two hours and a half came to a little poor village of Gurdins, agreeably situated in a valley near a small river and having some trees about it."

Passing through a district just as ill-inhabited but more pleasant they again struck the Euphrates opposite to Romuncola on the thirteenth day. "We cross'd the Euphrates a little to the N. of Romuncola in such boats as at Bir, and had the pleasure of seeing a large company of Turkmans pass over with their familys and cattle which they made swim over the river is pritty rapid." They climbed the hill to the Castle and lay that night with the Governor. From the hill-top they had "an agreeable enough prospect to the W. of the river which ran under us at a considerable depth. The rocky mountains which rise to a considerable heighth at both sides make very noble banks to the river which seems to be as broad as the Rhone almost tho' it was then at its lowest."

On the fourteenth day their guard brought them the wrong way and led them over very rough country. On the fifteenth they reached Antab, and remained there three days. Continuing their journey on the nineteenth day from their departure they reached Aleppo after a journey of twenty days,

during the whole of which "we had not a drop of rain tho' it was in a season we could not have expected to be so lucky. We met with no disturbance from either Arabs or Gurdins we saw no wild beast of any kind unless Jackalls may be so call'd of those we had sometimes great numbers howling about our tent and sometimes stealing in to get at our provisions..... Our hours summ'd up make the distances as follows:-

From Alleppo to Bir 22½ hours
From Bir to Orphal9
From Orpha to Romuncola 19 in all 81 hours = 300
From Romuncola to Antab 12 miles at least.
From Antab to Alleppo 13½

On the 24th of November new style they left Aleppo "accompany'd by severall gentlemen of the english and French factorys," and they came to Latichea, a town whose trade is "mostly to Egypt where it sends tobacco and re: :ceives from thence rice &c. this trade is carry'd on in french bottoms, for as the Turks are afraid of the Maltois, they for security employ french ships, where their goods are safe. I am told the French who have entirely engross'd the business in the Levant (call'd the Caravan trade) have 240 small ships employ'd this way."

For several days Wood viewed the architecture and ruins in the town, and left on December 5th in a French

3. Essay on Homer (1775) p.109. Here the date is (over -

ship for Damietta in Egypt. [4] "We got onto soundings on the coast of Egypt towards the evening on the third day, and found a slimy bottom, at some distance from the Bogas. This is the name by which the Arabs call the mouth of the river, where there is a bar or ridge of sand, which changes its form and size, and shifts its position, according to the wind.

"Here the sea began to be discoloured with the water of the Nile, and, in another league, as I looked from the round-top of the main-mast, the fresh water appeared like an immense muddy pond, as distinct in colour from the sea as the Saone is from the Rhone immediately after the junction of those rivers below Lyons..... The first objects that we saw towards the shore were the ships at anchor in the road of Damiata. We next got sight of the tops of some plam trees; and soon after of some buildings. Last of all we discovered the low flat land of Egypt.

"There being no port on the coast of the Delta, ships bound for Rosetta or Damiata anchor in an open road, till their business is done; exposed to much danger when the wind blows hard upon that harbourless shore. They are there: fore ready to slip their cables and run to sea for security

Leave

Feb. 5th 1743. This is certainly a mistake. It is unlikely he would require to wait two months for a ship. In addition (Essay p. 112) he writes that he "sailed again for Egypt the thirtieth" - and there are not 30 days in February, N.S. Three times he mentions having been in Egypt in January.

[4] Essay on Homer 1775 pp. 109 - 114.

upon the first appearance of foul weather.

"We had scarce let go our anchor, in company with a Ragusean bound for the same port, when it began to thunder and lighten; and the wind, suddenly shifting to the north west, blew hard. Night approaching, our pressing object was to get off the coast, upon which there is no harbour from Alexandria to Mount Carmel. After three days very blowing weather we made Cyprus, and got into Limisso, where we were detained three weeks by contrary winds. We sailed again for Egypt the thirtieth and in two days arrived upon the coast of the Delta.

"After the same succession of appearances similar to those already described, we got to our anchoring ground before the Bogas, in doubtful weather. Here a germe (which is a very strong built boat of this country entirely cal: :culated to resist the Bogas), tempted by a reward which custom has established for the first boat that ventures over on such occasions, soon boarded us. By this time things were so gloomy an aspect that our captain was pre: :paring, in all haste, to run to sea. To share his fate, or to risk the Bogas, was a point that called for immediate decision: for neither the germe, or our vessel, could stay a moment. I chose the latter. It is not easy to imagine any thing more awful than the approach to this Bogas in stormy weather. The breakers, which were heard and seen at some distance, had now the appearance of a succession

of cascades, which we were to pass through for half a mile.. One of our boatmen got up to the mast-head; and as his voice could not be heard, he directed our course by repeat: :ing signals which he received from a boat within the Bogas, stationed there to pilot germes, in blowing weather, through the breakers on the bar We struck thrice before we got into smooth water; and had the mortification to pass the wreck of our unfortunate Ragusean fellow-traveller, who had not been able to get off the coast, and perished with his crew upon this bar.

"There is a proverbial expression used by the Arab sailors, and adopted by the Franks, who frequent those seas, that 'he, who fears not the Bogas, fears not the Devil.""

On entering the mouth of the Nile Wood "passed by two incondiderable Castles... about which on the left hand is a poor village about a league from Damiata where the officer of the dogana would not let us depart that night. We arrived at Damiata next morning at about 9 of the Clock.. the fields tho' in January were as green as the aftergrass of our meadows... Ibrahim Hair a Maronite Merchant at Damiata hired a boat for us for five Zermabouls in which we arrived at Cairo in six days. The passage may be per: :form'd in two with a good wind, but sometimes requires about twenty. The great disagrement to Travellers on this river is the fear of the Arabs who often rob the Passengers."

Wood observes that the banks of the Nile were well inhabited, "the soil blackish and feels almost like soap;" "the child:ren quite or almost naked:" the population was in a back:ward state, having for canals water-wheels turned by bullocks, and "mud houses, like large Dunghills in appearance."

As a preparation for his visit to the Pyramids and the Catacombs Wood had "an audience with our Consul. He was distinguish'd from us by his Horse, while we were mounted on asses and by having a Chair to sit on while we stood. Our first introduction was to the Chria who gave us Coffee & perfume & inform'd the Bashaw of our coming. When we went to him the Consul only had Coffee & we had all Caftares(?).

"We set out for the Pyramid & went the first day only to the village of Gisi where Mrs. Vernon lent us a house situated very pleasantly on the Nile. The view of Old Cairo & both up & down the river from thence is very rich. Did Egypt but afford a variety of high and low ground no Country could show such prospects, but the level is so perfect that the first objects which present themselves always hide something very fine & anything to be seen farther can be only the disagreeable barren mountains of Lybia or the red Sea. The Views it is true from the hill behind the Castle or from the Pyramid was extensive & would be the finest in the World but that you are so much above everything that you seem rather to have a plan before you than a prospect. We saw the manner of their making Salam:

:moniac at Gisi & went to an Alehouse where we drank a malt liquor not much unlike the German white Beer though rather worse..... As the water yet cover'd a good deal of the Country we were obliged to make such detours that it took us a day from this place to Sicara, & a little before our arrival there we were obliged to pass a Canal (not yet ford: :able by our asses) in an odd sort of boat something like that in which I cross'd the Euphrates. It was made of Canes put upon Water Melons which were fill'd with air and stopped."

On this journey to Sicara, which he made his base for a very thorough exploration of the Pyramids and Catacombs, Wood had reason to feel grateful for that Arab sense of honour - here experienced for the first time and often re: :marked later - which counters their naturally predatory instincts. Their refusal to disregard the rites of hospit: :ality alone saved his caravan from violent assault. "Having provided myself with letters by the Consul's means, to the Copt Secretary of Sicara, & other things necessary for the Journey, as Presents, a Tent, a ladder & Cords to descend into the Catacombs, Torches, a Janizary, Drogueman, Cook & other Servants we mounted our asses & sallied forth in the morning from Cairo. About the time that we had got halfway to Sicara we were overtaken by two Arabs well mounted & arm'd who (after a little consultation with the Janizary gallop'd off & soon return'd with two others. They ask'd several questions about our Journey & business & would often

detach one of their Party who at his return seem'd to deliver a message. At last the two first disappear'd entirely leaving in our Company the two last whom they had brought with them & travell'd with us to Sicara & told us in great friendship that the Arabs who were gone had come to them with an account of us & a proposal of attack & plunder, but learning with the Janizary that we were recommended to the Sheik of their Village, they would not break the laws of hospitality but on the contrary aid & assist us. I was glad to find things were no worse, for I did not by any means like the appearance of those Gentle: :men. Having deliver'd my Letters I was order'd the use of a waste house to put my bed in, which I prefer'd to my Tent as more secure. I then made my presents, consisting of little boxes of preserved prunes & figs brought from Venice, & afterwards accepted of the Sheik's invitation to smoak a Pipe & drink coffee with him. In the meantime he order'd a Sheep to be kill'd, & a great dish of [x]Pilace(?) to be got ready for Supper, which we placed ourselves round, the Sheik & I upon Carpets which distinguish'd us from the rest of his Court & mine. One of the Gentle: :men who had proposed to cut our Throats on the Road did me the honour to sit beside me. His Majesty (who seem'd

[x]Pilaus.

to hold me very cheap though he treated me with great hospitality) seem'd to be like most People in that Country, a Man of few words. He however ask'd me some questions about my Hourney, business, & Country; how far I was from home ? Upon my answering him to this last question, he said (as my Drogoman told me) with a good deal of surprize to an ill looking fellow who sate near him, what fools these fellows must be to come so far to see our old Graves! After he had given orders that I should have every thing for my Journey next morning we retired."

On the following morning Wood found ready to accompany him a great band of Arabs, who impressed on him that the journey he was about to undertake was very dangerous, for they were at war with the 'grey Arabs' who, if appearing in superior numbers, would destroy them without hesitation. "Though I did not like to hear such an account I look'd upon this to be their invention to get money by making their Services appear greater which I obstinately refused, & after they went away to make me think they would leave me we were resolved to go alone as the Drogueman knew the road & accordingly sate out, but were soon overtaken by them when they found there was no more money to be made."

It was soon proved that the Arabs' story, whatever their motive in telling it, was well founded: for while they were dismounting to view the well where the embalmed

birds are found, "one of the Arabs who had been sent to a little rising to reconnoitre said he saw about 1 or 200 of the enemy coming that way, upon which they all dispers'd & left us in this Situation. Our only resource was in case the Arabs come up to be as expeditious as we could in giving them our Money & Cloaths. We saw them go on in a body within about half a mile of us but never came nearer; whether they did not see us or that they might have been afraid of our Arabs who still remain'd at some distance, one of them having pull'd out of his pocket a long red piece of silk like a Streamer & put it on the end of his Pique which he held up as high as he could standing on his Horse's back: this was it seems a signal to their Village of the Enemy's being near. All appearance of danger over our Arabs return'd to us at the Well which is a square hole in the rock six feet & 15 perpendicular."

Wood descended the well and traversed a passage running horizontally from the bottom and intersected by others. How far these channels, "cut out of the rock as the Catacombs at Naples," might extend he could not discover, as they were often completely choked up with heaps of sand. He was of the opinion that Nature was assisted by the art of the Arabs that they might be employed by visitors in clearing away the obstructions they had made. In the passages was found a litter of

jars broken by travellers to get at the contents, which were mummified birds.

On his return to Sicara "thoroughly fatigued" Wood discovered that he was not yet quit of "one of the gentle:men who had proposed to cut their throats." "After I had got to Sicara & was in bed I was a little alarm'd at see:ing the Arab who had put us in fear as we came from Cairo, enter my room; but he made signs to me for some Wine, which he took that opportunity of drinking without being seen by the other Arabs. I was glad to get quit of him so cheap."

Next day was spent in exploring the Catacombs of human mummies, and at night in Sicara Wood made purchases from an Arab who told him "that he did not dare to sell either Mummies or Idols openly partly for fear of being obliged to give part of the money to others should they know of it, & partly from dread of the Superstition of others who have scruples about meddling with the bodies of these Mummies. I got my purchases loaded secretly on a Camel & sent off to Cairo that Night."

On the following morning Wood took leave of his "friends the Arabs" and went towards the great Pyramid at Gisi. The entrance had already been cleared by the Arabs on the instruction of several of his friends - "Mr. Barton, Vernon &c." - who came by appointment to dine with him, and with whom he returned to Cairo in the

evening. He later went to the coast by the eastern branch of the Nile to Rosetta, and thence in ten hours overland to Alexandria, the route being "over a sandy barren plain thinly scatter'd with Palm Trees, from which the Peasants were at this time gathering Dates. Their address in climbing to the top of those Trees without any branches to assist them was remarkable. They put a block round the Trunk & remove it as they proceed, a method likewise practised in Guinea."

[x] They (Wood and his companions, whoever they were) were detained in Alexandria "about a month, when it rain'd almost continuously." Some time about the end of February at earliest, or more probably in March, Wood set sail from Alexandria, having on board his mummies, which were destined never to reach England. On the tenth day out, while south of Candia, the weather grew very stormy, and as they cleared the island, which had afforded some shelter, "the wind blew so fresh out of the Archipelago we could scarce stand it. The twelth day a sea took the ship on her side with such violence that it broke the handle of our rudder so that she lay for some time with her side under water. The thirteenth the storm still increasing the sailors found out that I had got three boxes in which there were mummys on board which they threw over, for taking it into their heads that those mummys were the occasion of our foul weather it was in vain to argue with them or strive by entreaty or offering money

[x] He explored the Catacombs and stayed with the Sheik alone.

to prevent them. The fourteenth the storm abated a little and the fifteenth we had fair weather."

The wind was unfavourable throughout the voyage, and after slow progress they were compelled on the thirty-third day to put into Frejus, which they managed "with much ado:" and here they were detained for eighteen days by very bad weather. On the fiftieth day they again put to sea, and were visited by an English man of war. "The weather proving bad we put into Toulon the fifty-first day from our departure from Alexandria & there left the ship and enter'd upon quarantine the day after our Arivall. This voyage of a out five hundred leagues is generally made in summer in about twenty days."

The duration of the tour, which had embraced many of the islands in the Aegean Sea, Constantinople, Alexandria, Troas, part of Syria and Mesopotamia, and Egypt, was almost exactly a year - from May 1742 to the end of April or May 1743.

EXPEDITION OF 1750 - 51.

Part I. Chapter II.

The movements of Wood between 1743 and 1749 are quite unknown. He probably travelled overland to England when he wearied of his slow sea voyage: but after this he certainly spent a good deal of his time in tours through France and Italy in company with his fellow-travellers of 1750. These were John Bouverie and James[1] Dawkins, both graduates of Oxford, young gentlemen who employed part of their wealth and leisure in indulging a taste for art and travel. All three had an interest in classical subjects generally. Bouverie was the recognised authority on archaeology, and Wood's interests were mainly literary, but he is credited with taste enough to be fond of some of the polite arts in which he was not deeply conversant; particularly drawing, painting, sculpture, and architecture.[2]

1) Wood - History of the University of Oxford. II. 812. Henry Dawkins, Esq. of Jamaica, and created D.C.L. 1759, also presented many ancient Inscriptions collected by his Brother James Dawkins, Esq. of Jamaica, sometime of St. John's College, and created D.C.L. in 1749.

2) Monthly Review. 1776. LIII. 369 ff. Review of Wood's 'Essay on Homer', (last page).- Here also we find - "We do not mean to represent him as a man of the most profound learning. He was, rather, what his friends usually styled him, A GENTLEMANLY SCHOLAR ". In respect of classical scholarship, if the diaries are any indication, Walpole's designation is more appropriate.

Of James or 'Jamaica' Dawkins something more may be said here. He was a member of a wealthy[3] West Indian family, and found a use for his riches, and at the same time an outlet for his energetic and adventurous spirits, an employment every whit as dangerous as his travels among the Bedouins. In 1748 his Jacobite sympathies were already known to the English Government. In this year he "was in Paris, drinking with Townley - (a Jacobite supporter) - who calls him un bon garçon. Townley's letters to a friend in Rome were regularly sent to Pelham."[4]

In March or April 1753 Dawkins crossed to England from France and returned with £4,000 for Prince Charles Edward. In the same year he was a leader, with Dr. King of Oxford and the Earl of Westmoreland, in a Jacobite conspiracy, and knew more about it than the Prince himself.

3) Boswell's Life of Johnson IV. 126. "Although upon most occasions I never heard a more strenuous advocate for the advantages of wealth, than Dr. Johnson: he this day, I know not from what caprice, took the other side. 'I have not observed (said he) that men of very large fortunes enjoy anything extraordinary that makes happiness. . . The only great instance that I have ever known of the enjoyment of wealth was, that of Jamaica Dawkins, who, going to visit Palmyra, and hearing that the way was infested by robbers, hired a troop of Turkish horse to guard him'. "

4) Lang, A. - Pickle the Spy. p. 222. note.

The conspirators were hopeful of obtaining the assistance of Frederick of Prussia, who kept up their hopes by vague encouragement, but who would not commit himself; treating the Jacobites, in fact, merely as cards in the game.

In May Dawkins went to Berlin as the envoy of Prince Charles, but Frederick did not think his plans well organised. He was nevertheless prepared to sacrifice those implicated if it came to actual hostilities. He wrote to the Earl Marischal in Paris, that, "in my present situation with the King of England, and considering his action against me, it would be for the good of my service that you should secretly aid by your good advice these people (the Dawkins conspirators)."

These activities of Dawkins - even the visit to Frederick - were known to the British ambassador in Paris, who respected his abilities. A passport he had obtained through unorthodox channels fell into the hands of the ambassador: and in July 1753 a warrant was issued against him, which apparantly was never put into execution.

In 1755 Dawkins broke with the Pretender. He realised that Charles' mode of life made his cause hopeless, and candidly represented the Prince to his adherents "as entirely abandoned to an irregular and debauched life, even to excess, which brought his health, and even his life daily

in danger," leaving him "in some degree devoid of reason", "obstinate", "ungrateful", "unforgiving and revengeful for the very smallest offence".*

The expedition was financed by Bouverie and Dawkins, who "thought that a voyage, properly conducted, to the most remarkable places of antiquity, on the coast of the Mediterranean, might produce amusement and improvement to themselves, as well as some advantage to the public:"; and Wood, who had already seen most of the places they intended to visit, joined the party on their invitation.

These three passed the winter of 1749 together at Rome, and at Naples in the Spring they met their ship, which had been hired and fitted out for them in London. The ship brought from London "a library consisting chiefly of all the Greek historians and poets, some books of antiquities, and the best voyage writers, what mathematical instruments we thought necessary, and such things as might be proper presents for the Turkish grandees, or others, to whom, in the course of our voyage, we should be obliged to address ourselves". A fourth person, Torquilino Borra, whose abilities as an architect and draughtsman were already known to them, was added to the party: and he

* For the full story of Dawkins' important part in Jacobite affairs see A. Lang - Pickle the Spy. pp. 92, 120, 129, 188, 223-227, 292.

made the drawings from which the plates for "Palmyra" and "Balbec" were prepared.

Each of the travellers kept a diary, and from these Dawkins compiled the official account of the voyage, on which we are largely dependent: but the considered descriptions of Wood in Palmyra and Balbec will also be of service. It is impossible to reproduce these diaries in toto as a record of travel, for they are largely composed of descriptions and measurements of ruins; and the remarks on scenery are necessarily repetitive. The aim here is to give an account of the progress of the expedition, and to include only excerpts of more general interest.[5)]

* On May 5th 1750 the travellers set out with a full knowledge of the fatigue and danger, hoping that their gratification on visiting the scenes of ancient heroic

5) For the archaeological results of the tour, see the Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. XLVII. 1927. The Travels of 'Palmyra' Wood in 1750-51 by C. A. Hutton.

* On the inside of the cover of No. 23 there is, in Wood's hand, the following list:

In the purse in the fiddle case 3 intaglios
1 piece of gold 4 of silver.
6 packets of medalls - ? 4 with an Antique
2 with a medall.
9 pellets of Lemnos earth.
a piece of gold lace for a hat.
a pair Velvet britches.
2 summer & 2 winter Coats with britches of the same.

(Contd. on next page.)

action would be sufficient recompense: and they were not disappointed in their expectation. "Our ship the Matilda of about 160 Ton, Richard Puddie Commander, joyn'd us at Naples the latter end of April. We judg'd it necessary to make some additional accomodations in Her, which detained us there till Tuesday May 5th N.S. 1750, when in Company with Messrs Bouverie, Wood & Borra, We set sail from thence at seven o'clock in the Evening ditto with a fair Breeze." They sailed southwards and, landing at Stromboli, made the ascent of the mountain, but desisted, when some distance from the summit, on the approach of darkness, and "by reason of the thick prickly Bushes which greatly annoyed our Legs." The voyage proceeded without event, and on the 18th they anchored in Smyrna harbour, "after a prosperous voyage of 13 days."

3 embroider'd waistcoats.
Paper for same ? for winter.
knife & scissors.
22 shirts.
20 Stocks.
7 " of black silk Stock.
5 " of french white.
3 " of Tine ?
2 " of English with diamonds.
1 " " English with plain
14 " of Genoa
8 " of Stamboull.
2 " ribb'd
2 fine waistcoats.
5 of Marseilles.
10 Caps
4 drawers.

The list of Bouverie's outfit is given in his diary.
6 p. of - ? riding Stockings.
4 indian dimity waistcoats.
15 buttons.
4 spitalfields linnen do.
shoes pumps boots thread stockings.
breeches cider beer vin de Bordeaux
8 french brandy - bob-wig &c. bagd.
cask of potatoes - Nankin Coats.

12 Zernis ? & 4 - ? in Silesian Shacksheers.

During a stay of a week in Smyrna they explored the town and district in company with gentlemen of the English factory, visited the English consul and successfully evaded the attentions of others. "We waited on Mr. Cawley our Consul etc^{a}. and laughed off the congratulory Compliments of the other Consuls. They are so ridiculuously absurd as to mean to merit a Visit because sent by a rascally Druggoman instead of a footman. But such formalitys prevail here among the Franks that if indulg'd would be very irksome to a Traveller".

From Smyrna they travelled inland to Sardis, accompanied for half the way by the gentlemen of the factory. They halted after an hour's ride at Diana's Baths to drink punch with their escort, and later encamped close to Cassaba "near the source of a plentifull clear stream whose murmurs were quite lost in the damn'd croaking & quaking of Toads & Froggs". The same day (the 26th) they again experienced the discomforts incidental to travel in a strange climate. "We got on an Eminence under an Oak, which, however It shelter'd Us from the sun could not defend Us against a most damnable hot wind, which seem'd to come out of an Oven very strong & quite suffocating & which incommoded Us greatly".

* Apparently a favourite with the Dawkins. Bouverie is less emphatic. "The 26th We tented beside a fine Stream near Cashaba where we were entertained with a Concert of Toads & Froggs".

At Sardis they followed their usual plan hereafter of surveying the remains of antiquity, taking measurements, making sketches and drawing plans. The route thereafter lay via Thyatira to Pargamon through a pleasant country, where the corn which the locusts had not touched was very full and good. "I saw some Locusts Birds", Dawkins notes, "here as well as near. They are shaped like a blackbird of much that size perhaps smaller have capacious mouths with yellow & black streekes upon their backs like a Spanish flye & brown under their bellies: They feed upon the Locusts entirely & never appear where they are not, very shye appear never alone & make a loud cherrup when flying & are swift & generally in motion: They do infinite service".

The party made the coast on the 9th June at the Sinus Eleaticus - "& here We return half roasted on board the Matilda however satisfied with the Objects our Tour afforded yet not a little fatigued with the Inconveniences We had felt from the violent heats &c^{a}. &c^{a}." Next day they sailed northwards, and by the 13th were opposite Temedos. Having little wind to counteract the current from the Hellespont they determined to visit Troas: but a favourable wind springing up they postponed their visit, and continued towards Constantinople.

In their passage through the straits they had a brush with the local Bashaw who lay in wait for those strangers who failed to fulfil the demands of official civility. "We got up with the Castles off the Dardanelles call'd the Old Castles by eleven o'Clock before noon distant six leagues from the lower ones: There the Channel is narrower than below for I cannot allow it more than a league: These Castles may justly be said to Command the Passage for nothing dares pass without a Licence, unless They expose Themselves to the greatest danger for the Balls fir'd from either of the Castles reach the opposite Land; so that a ship would run a most damnable risk between two such fires, & they are famous for firing most huge tremendous Marble Bullets & both are well stor'd with Guns &c^{a}. . . . Now we have a fine addition to our landscape for the Captain Bashaw lyes encamp'd in the pretty Vale just to the East of the Asian Castle & which surrounds the harbour of that Castle; in it lye His five Galleys, & half a mile higher up, lye anchor'd three Men of War of his suite; two of which are larger than our Eighty Gun Ships; we saluted Him & which He return'd with two Guns less, but not quite satisfied tho We had pass'd He sent for our Captain ashore & reprimanded him for not coming to an anchor at his stern &c^{a}. But we soon & without farther trouble got clear of Him".

In Constantinople they visited the British Ambassador, and under the direction of Dr. Mackenzie the Physician they saw the sights of the town and witnessed a picturesque procession of the Grand Signior. "The G^{d} Signior enter'd the Mosque about a quarter before twelve at Noon with his ordinary Attendants his suite not so numerous as I expected but yet great & pompous. They prepar'd his Way by sweeping the street & sprinkling It with Water &c^{a}. several Officers of Distinction came preceded Him attended by more or less servants all exceedingly neatly drest &c^{a}. " His Private Secretaries & others, Many Janizaries in their leather Caps with a large Lappel hanging down behind their heads like a woman's & defended before with Brass It looks somewhat Marshall but not all together great. Bostangis & Igneoglans in great plenty likewise came before Him but what pleas'd me most were his Guards some carrying a Lance others a Pike & their March was not in a regular Rank or order as in other Country's yet the most awfull & respectfull I ever saw with their Eyes down fixt & vastly clean & well drest as indeed all Turk's servants are & in the best order in the world. Close round His Person were six stately Men with large spreading feathers like those us'd by the Pope when carried in state & without these walk'd the above

mention'd Guards all Handsomely drest. The Kisleraga immediately follow'd Him look'd Black & young, & two or three other Blacks &c^{a}. & Janizaries Bostanghis & foot Guards, the Igneoglans on horseback & are reckoned famous horsemen. There were several led horses all richly caparison'd & tho' the Turks wear no Lace or Embroidery Themselves, Their Horses are sufficiently decorated with It Their Drappings were of the richest Brocade embroideries in silver & Gold imaginable besides most plentifully studded with Pearls & all sorts of precious stones Their bridles likewise are surprizingly valuable by reason of the Jewels they contain In short the Expence that the Great Turks go to in their horse furniture is almost incredible. There were about twenty led horses & not one but wore & ornaments that would have made any Christian Lady's mouth to water."

On the 20th they crossed over to Stamboul. Dawkins was disappointed with the famous Church of St. Sophia. The outside, he says, does not invite one to enter, and the inside does not repay the trouble of a visitor. "I firmly believe that if Sta. Sophia was in Rome that no Traveller except a German would enter it". Their call at a somewhat different institution likewise did not give excessive pleasure. "We next visited the

Managerie there are three Lyons, two Leopards, two Tygers, Wolves, Jack Calls &c[a]. They seem all Mangy & half starv'd, Their Habitation was formerly a Greek Church. It is now a very dark nasty place & stinks most execrably".

On their way past the Mosque Dawkins notes the complacency of the Turkish workmen. "The stone is good & they are well put together, but tis a sight for an Englishman to see the Turks at Work. They are so compos'd with each his pipe that instead of Toil it seems only a mighty gentle amusement".

They added to their list of visitations a seraglio and a madhouse. They were permitted to enter the former, and "were justly reprimanded by the Turk for sitting down upon the Gd Signior's Sofa who ask'd Us whether it was customary in our Country to take the same familiarity with our King's Sophas": and of the latter Dawkins remarks that "their cells are vastly nasty & the poor Devils ill-kept, among those were two Men & likewise chain'd for getting Drunk probably They made a practice of It".

On Thursday the 25th the travellers were entertained by a most extraordinary performance of a sect of Dervishes, "called the Houhous (from frequently repeating Alahou God is Great". - "They gradually mov'd into a dance

& by degrees into a very frantick One. They took hold of hands all round & form'd a large Circle sometimes two or three twirling round in the middle, All of them dancing, stamping, ranting & snarling like so many Madmen or rather Dogs. Houhou seem'd the Burthen of the Song which was urg'd with the greatest Vehemence. There were several who assisted in the Circle but only eight or ten who appear'd of the Order & those wore a whitish Habit & Bonnet & their Hair long These exerted Themselves most, particularly One or two of Them who underwent most violent Exercise & that for three or four damnable Heats when they work'd this up to such a fit of frensy & they fairly spent Themselves & fell into the Arms of some or other who supported them. Others closing round shouting &c^{a}. whilst the unexhausted Victim is suppos'd to enjoy an Extatick Vision the just reward of his Lunacy. The Chief Actors look'd mighty pale & Wann & I am told seldom live to old Age".

While in the town they were regaled with a horrible item of news concerning "an extraordinary Order of Pastry Cooks" who "were detected & all executed for their horrid Compositions making their Pastry with Human Greese & the meat of their pyes with human flesh. They us'd to seduce people into their houses & murder Them &

send their Cloaths &c^{a}. to other towns to be sold, & this they had practis'd for some time".

Dawkins, like his companions, is enthusiastic in his praise of Constantinople - the natural beauty of its situation and the character of its inhabitants, "who are charitable & will not hurt dumb animals. . . The Turk in business is honest, & is preferr'd as a man to trade with to any Christian in the East". But he was shocked when he entered Stamboul: "The streets are generally narrow, tis true there is a streight Causeway on each side for foot people but they are abominably illpav'd & tho' the Turks do not like the scotch, Italians & french throw their Excrament & filth out into the street yet the Dirt not being clear'd away the Mangy dead Dogs & live Mangy Ones, dead Rats &c^{a}. make most of the streets exceeding Offensive": and of the people he says, "However noble the Turkish Dress is as tis so very loose & easy It encourages Them to lye in It & Those who do not change often notwithstanding their frequent use of Baths smell very strong. . . I could not learn what are the Amusements of the Turkish Ladies but I believe Bagnio's are their chief resource as well as those of the Men, by what an imperfect Glance I could see They seem to be exceeding fine Women. Both Men & Women frequent a low kind of Comedy for which there are female Troops for the Women

to see as well as Male for the Men & is vastly bad by all kinds".

After a trip up the Bosphorus in a boat to the mouth of the Black Sea the travellers rejoined the Matilda at Constantinople, whence they departed on 10th July. They anchored at convenient points from which they could go ashore to visit Boursa (Prusia) - where they were dissuaded by hazy weather from ascending Mount Olympus - Cyzicus and Lampsacus. On sailing through the straits they went ashore and inspected the great guns of the Castle which command the passage. On the 25th they anchored under the Sigean Promontory, and spent the next few days going over the Trojan Plain.

They followed the Scamander up into the hills: rode down to its junct ion with the Simois; struck off across the plain to a village where they were told that the source was eight hours up in the hills, the last half of the way being impossible for horses; and because of this circumstance again made their way to the Scamander. "Friday 31st We stear'd down the suppos'd Scamander . . . One hour and half after dinner brought Us to our Encampment. . . We pitched our Tent in a very happy spot on a gentle Rise. . . about a mile to the North of Us are the Ruins of Troas &c[a].

These ruins and others in the district were

examined: and on 3rd August they sailed for Tenedos, where they discovered some excellent wine"and some good Fish like the Faulino which our Interpreter call'd Old Wife". They touched at Mytilene, and on the 14th "we anchor'd between two & three O'clock in the Afternoon off Scio. We found One large Turkish Man of War lying in the Road belonging to the Captain Bashaw's Squadron, His Gallies were within the Mole in the Port He himself ashore in the Town the rest of his fleet sent out to cruize &c^{a}. As his Gallies lay in the Mole We chose to anchor out in the Bay rather than risque such dangerous Neighbours".

The women of Scio receive favourable mention. They are "remarkably pretty, part of their Dress very gracefull, their Turban, their manner of dressing their Hair: but their pleating the Petticoat quite from their Shoulders which reaches no lower than their knees, disguizes their shape & makes them look clumsy & has a disagreeable Effect. They are allways clean even the poor Girls bien chaussees & quoiffees, & I never saw so many charming faces in any place in my Life as here; add to their Beauty most agreeable freedom with an easy Innocence in their Behaviour which surpasses allmost that of Ladies in most other Countrys & renders them mighty engaging".

At the Convent of Neomene, "situate in a Romantick solitary Place very high & commands a fine Prospect", they encountered "two hundred Caloyer's dirty Stupid Beasts, ignorant to the last degree, Their Cells dark & nasty worthy of such wretches: They quibbled & would not let Us into their Library which was compos'd of valuable Manuscripts they say that some have been stolen; doubtless there are some good left, They entertain'd Us very miserably. They are most slovenly fellows. The Convent is said to be very rich".

On the 20th they reached the port of Teos, Sigigieck, which "abounds with Inscriptions & several the same as Chisull has coppy'd relating to the Teians". They examined the ruins here and in Bodrun (Old Teos), and the 23rd "we spent in comparing Mr. Chisull's Coppys of the Inscriptions which are very exact. Monday 24th We waited in order to purchase the Inscriptions but the Captain Pashaw's half Galley being there the Officer deterr'd the Aga from suffering any large Stones to be sent out of the Town. We bought five or six small sepulchrial Ones. Tuesday 25th We waited this day again the departure of the Galley but in the meantime wharp'd out of the Port: at Night the Galley sail'd. Wednesday 26th All we could do was to purchase another Sepulchrial Inscription (notwith-

standing all our waiting & that the Galley was sailed)."

The antiquities were examined at Ephesus (29 - Sept. 1st) and Samos (Sept. 2nd to 7th). This island was inhabited entirely by Greeks. "The Bishop governs. They are visited Once a year by an Aga who resides no longer than till he has collected the Poll Tax". On the seventh they sailed in a Greek boat up the Meander (the Matilda being unable to cross the bar): but the river doubled so frequently that towards evening they disembarked and "took to our Leggs", thus reaching their objective - Palat - in half an hour, when the boat would have required four hours.

On the 15th May they reached Guzel Hissar (Magnesia) and here tragedy overtook them. Bouverie fell ill of a fever, and despite (or because of) the attentions of the Pasha's Greek physician, "regularly educated as having studied at Padua, Bologna, &c^{a}.", his condition, after several appearances of recovery, grew rapidly worse. On the 18th, "half an hour after Midnight, his Fit return'd with all its violence except the bleeding at the Nose. It soon rendered him speechless, but could not alter that happy composure & serenity of mind by which he was ever distinguish'd. It carry'd him off by one o'Clock after Midnight; when I enter'd his Room, I found

him breathing his last, but with all the tranquility which Shakespear paints in his description of Patience on a Monument". The body was transported to Smyrna for burial, under the care of Bouverie's confidential servant, after whose return the journey was continued overland through Laodicea, Hierapolis, Antioch, Mylassa to Halicarnassus, where they boarded the Matila lying in readiness for them in the harbour of the town.

They proceeded to Cos, Cnidus and Rhodes, whence they sailed for Alexandria. After a calm a storm blew up which carried away their main-topgallant yard, and they had to run for the shelter of the harbour. Here in Rhodes they were detained four days, but were able to sail on the 26th October, and reached Alexandria on November 4th: thence to Cairo.

Here they saw the sights of the town and district for ten days, in which time Dawkins notes "as thick & black a fog as ever I saw in London". On the 24th they left for Saccara, and at Jerah on the way they sampled the beer in an Egyptian tavern. - "They make it of Barley, fresh & fresh every Day, but instead of Hops they use Leaven, it is of a chalky foul Complexion, has the Taste of Beer & is heady."

The diaries contain an exhaustive account of measurements and calculations made in their exploration

of the Catacombs and Pyramids: but thorough though their work was, their activities were somewhat curbed, for Dawkins deplores that "the Jealousy of the too many Chiefs in Cairo will not permit a Frank to risque digging in those Catacombs & about the Sphinx".

Previous to their departure on the 7th December for Alexandria they invited Mr. Barton the Consul to dinner; at which "the Turk or Head Servant of the House where we dined drank four little french Bottles of Liquemr in less than an hour without being the least discomposed". They arrived in Alexandria on the 9th: but for some reason or other "we attempted the Catacombs again", on the 12th. They broke off the project apparently, and were again on board the Matilda on the 15th, and about the 21st December they sailed from Alexandria.

Their object was Athens, but the Matilda encountered heavy weather and "we were forced by contrary Winds to Caipha, under Mount Carmel in the Bay of Acre, 12 miles from the Town & the first port we could make", (25th Dec. 1750).* The interruption of the voyage, unfortunate as it must have appeared at the time, was destined to have happy consequences: for, storm-bound on the coast of Syria, the travellers made a tour of the Holy Land, and later visited Palmyra and Balbec, where they got

* From Wood. Dawkins' diaries are incomplete here. For the tour of Palestine also We refer to Wood.

the material for their beautiful publications.

The Holy Land was a complete disappointment to them: a disappointment not decreased by miserable weather and atrocious roads, which led over a country 'dismally depressing' ✍ Holy Land! How interesting a Journey through it must appear as the Scene of Old Testament History of the first created Pair! [6] Revered from our very Infancy, (for here we are told that David slew Goliath, here Absalom was punish'd for filial Ingratitude &c., &c.) as the Scene of all the mysteries of our Holy Religion. Disappointed - & why? few Countrys where danger & fatigue do not counterbalance gratification, here, not even a variety of wretchedness. . . Having now finished a tour round Galilee, Samaria & Judaea, I must conclude that no Country is seen with more risque, (being in constant danger from Arabs) fatigue & inconvenience, & perhaps none in the World less worth such trouble & the whole country of Syria affords no antiquities worth mentioning except those of Balbec & Palmyra, which are indeed so extraordinary in their kind as perhaps not to

6) No. 19. 'The Universal History', begins, - 'The World created before Christ 4004 years. There is an ancient tradition, that Adam was created in Syria, near where Damascus now stands. Others will have It to have been in Armenia; but it was, most probably, in or near Ye Garden of Eden, the seat design'd for them, wherever that was.

be equalled by anything to be seen elsewhere".[7]

They returned to the coast at Carmel, where they were entertained at the Convent - a pleasant change after their experiences. A messenger was sent off to Aleppo from Beirute, to which town they had ridden along the coast, to ask for a permit to use the Caravan route to Damascus: and while awaiting his return they visited Mr. Usgate (probably the Consul) at his house in the hills, traversing the dangerous Antonine Way round the Cape. "The Road lasts 40 minutes, very romantick & unpleasant, sometimes scarce 10 feet wide without parapet". Their messenger returned without the permit, and they descended to Beirute, passing the spot where St. George slew the Dragon, and sent off another messenger to Tripoli, where the application also failed. They had perforce to take the more dangerous road over the hills from Beirute to Damascus. "We had no sooner conquer'd one Range of Hills but another appear'd; heartily tyr'd of this curst Country We were afraid It would never end".

7) Itinerary. Dec. 25th to Feb. 23rd 1751. - Acre, Mt. Carmel, Nazareth, Capernaum, Tiberias, Nazareth, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Rama, Carmel, Tyre, Sidon, Beyrout, Damascus.

The first few days were spent in sightseeing - the gate by which St. Paul escaped and the fountain where he was baptised; the tomb of Ananias; the house of Judas; and so on. What had been the Cathedral Church of St. John was now the Great Mosque, of which "the whole Fabrick has been bedevill'd by the TurkishTast. . . but they have not transmogrify'd it so much as has Pococke in his Design". They then made their preparations for their expedition to Palmyra, and were ready to set out on March 6th. Palmyra was so much out of the common road that the protection of the Grand Signior could be of no service to them: and the Bashaw of Damascus could not promise that his name and power would guarantee their security. He referred them to the Aga of Hassia (whose jurisdiction extended as far as Palmyra), and this village, four days from Damascus, was accordingly their first objective. Here the Aga received them "with that hospitality which is so common among all ranks of people in those countries; and though extremely surprized at our curiosity, he gave us instructions how to satisfy it in the best manner".[8)]

8) Ruins of Palmyra. 1753. - A Journey through the Desart. This part of their travels is missing in Dawkins' Diaries. Wood's Essays prefixed to Palmyra and Balbec are henceforth, unless otherwise mentioned, the sources used.

On the 11th they departed from Hassia with an escort of the Aga's best horsemen, armed with guns and long pikes, and travelled to Sudud over a barren plain "scarce affording a little browsing to antilopes, of which we saw a great number". At Sudud, "a poor small village inhabited by Maronite Christians", with houses "built of no better material than mud dried in the sun", they purchased a few manuscripts from the Priests, and proceeded to Howareen the same day; and on the 12th they arrived at Carietin.

Here they halted to collect their escort, and to prepare their people and cattle for the final stage of the journey over a waterless desert, and which, although requiring at least 24 hours, could not be divided into stages. They were joined here for protection by merchants from Damascus on their way to Palmyra to collect salt.* (see footnote on next page.) As their numbers increased so the caravan became more ungovernable, and when they left Carietin on the 13th it was ten o'clock, much too late in the day. This delay exposed them to the heat of two days tempered by neither breeze nor shade, before their cattle could water or rest.

"Our caravan was now increased to about two hundred persons, and about the same number of beasts for carriage, consisting of an odd mixture of horses, camels,

mules and asses. Our guide told us, this part of our journey was most dangerous, and desired we might submit ourselves entirely to his direction, which was, that the servants should keep with the baggage immediately behind our Arab guard; from which one, two or more of their body were frequently dispatched, for discovery, to what ever eminences they could see, where they remained untill we came up. Those horsemen always rode off from the caravan at full speed, in the Tartar or Hussar manner. We doubted whether all this precaution was owing to their being really apprehensive of danger, or whether they only affected to make us think highly of their use and vigilance".

The monotony of the** journey over a sandy, trackless desert was now and then relieved by the Arab horsemen, "who engaged in mock fights with each other

* These merchants are mentioned for the first time in Balbec; but it is almost certain they joined here. Allowing for the addition of the rest of the escort sent by the Aga of Hassia, the number of baggage animals is yet far too high for the purposes of the expedition.

** "Since we propose this work merely as an account of the ruins of Palmyra, and not of our travels, we shall here only premise such a short sketch of our passage through the Desart, as may give a general idea of our manner of travelling in a country, which nobody has described" - Palmyra - 'A Journey through the Desart'.

for our entertainment, and shewed a surprizing firmness of seat, and dexterity in the management of their horses. When the business of the day was over, coffee and a pipe of tobacco made their highest luxury, and while they indulged in this, sitting in a circle, one of the company entertained the rest with a song or story, the object love, or war, and the composition sometimes extemporary".

The caravan halted at midnight for two hours for refreshment, and on the 14th about noon they arrived at the end of the plain where the two bounding ranges of hills seemed to meet; and, proceeding along the vale, there was revealed "all at once, the greatest quantity of ruins we had ever seen, all of white marble, and beyond them towards the Euphrates a flat waste, as far as the eye could reach, without any object which showed either life or motion. It is scarce possible to imagine anything more striking than this view: so great a number of Corinthian pillars, mixed with so little wall or solid building, offered a most romantic variety of prospect".

At Palmyra the travellers were conducted to one of the Arab huts, of which there were about thirty in the court of the great temple. "The contrast between the magnificence of that building and the poverty of our lodging, was very striking. The inhabitants, both men

and women, were well shaped, and the latter, though swarthy, had good features. They were veiled, but not so scrupulous of showing their faces, as the eastern women generally are. They paint the ends of their fingers red, their lips blue, and their eye-brows black, and wore very large gold or brass rings in their ears and noses. They had the appearance of good health, and told us that distempers of any sort were uncommon among them. . . [9] The inhabitants talk'd to us about the Emir who was executed by the Bashaw of Aleppo for robbing the English as having happen'd in the memory of some of the oldest of them, & they had Songs which they sung on that subject. . . Our escort from the Aga (who is glad of any pretence to fleece them) procured us great civilities, & we had an opportunity of seeing everything without interruption; they seem'd displeas'd at our taking away some Stones, but could not oppose it".

For several days the party laboured at Palmyra, - drawing, measuring and collecting: and having finished their work they lost no time in taking their leave of the place, for their Arab escort had already begun to urge their departure with some impatience. They said the

9) Hellenic Soc. MSS. No. 18.

return journey was much more dangerous than the journey thither: for whereas in the latter they could only encounter accidental dangers, now they had to guard against a premeditated attack by the King of the Bedouins, who might have had intelligence of them, and think the caravan a prize worth capturing.

They accordingly concealed their route and time of departure, and* set out (probably on the 20th), "the few miserable inhabitants of that place expressing the utmost astonishment at a visit of which they could not comprehend the meaning". The road lay over the same tiresome stretch of desert as far as Sudud, "without any alarm, except one, which is worth mentioning only as it relates to the manners of the country".

"About four hours before our arrival at Carietin we discovered a party of Arabian horsemen at a distance; to which, had they been superior in number, we must have fallen an easy prey, in the languid state to which both our men and horses were reduced by a march of above twenty hours over the burning sands; but upon our

* Wood. - Ruins of Balbec 1757. - Journey from Palmyra to Balbec. - gives date as 27th; and arrival in Balbec (by computation) April 1st. This disagrees with Dawkins' diaries, which read: March 22nd. Left Sudud: 24th Arrived in Balbec. April 2nd Left Balbec: April 6th Arrived in Tripoli: April 9th Set sail from Tripoli.

It is very probable that the date in 'Balbec' is incorrect: much more probable than that all Dawkins' dates are wrong.

nearer approach they began to retire precipitately, and abandoned some cattle, which our friends seized, as a matter of course, laughing at our remonstrances against their injustice".

At Sudud the travellers left their former road on the right, and in five hours reached Cara. Here the merchants struck off to Damascus with the salt they had gathered, and the escort returned to their master the Aga of Hassia, having requested and obtained a certificate of their proficiency as guards, "which they justly deserved". The treasure of manuscripts and marbles was sent off on camels to the ship at Tripoli, and the party rested for a day after weeks of unremitting toil in the desert: - "Security and repose, succeeding to danger and toil, soon gave both us and our people that comforting refreshment, which was so necessary to prepare us for new fatigues".

Most of the journey to Balbec from Cara was over the barren ridge of hills called Anti-Libanus. The only village passed through, Ersale, afforded such evidence of the unsettled state of the country that it is commented on by Wood. It consisted of about thirty poor houses, all open and empty. The inhabitants had fled, carrying everything with them; for the Governor of Balbec's brother was in open rebellion, ravaging the district with his

desperate associates; and he had levied such unmerciful contributions on other parts of the country that the population of Ersale had chosen to abandon their dwellings rather than await inevitable extortions when the rebel arrived. Wood and Dawkins knew that the outlaw was encamped in the neighbourhood, and, although they could not avoid staying the night, they left a place of so much danger early next morning, and in five and a half hours reached Balbec.

The Governor of Balbec, who preferred the title of Emir which he had by birth as more dignified than that of Aga which was his by rank, was no more amiable a character than his rebel brother, and soon made the travellers realise that the ill reports they had received of him were not unjustified. The curious mixture of avarice, hospitality and venality encountered on all hands by Wood in his Eastern travels is made the subject at this point in 'Balbec' of a dissertation on the habits of these countries; a description which even to-day repays the reading of it.

The Emir Hassein nominally was subject to the Bashaw of Damascus, and theoretically should have contributed in money to him as well as to the Grand Signior, to whom he paid fifty purses annually for the taxes, and fifty for the lands under his command. For several years the Emir

had contrived to avoid payment, and for this reason it was that the Bashaw of Damascus had refused letters to Balbec, knowing his authority had no weight there.

On arrival at Balbec the travellers waited upon the Emir, "and found him in a Chiosque in his garden reclined upon a sofa near a fountain, and indolently enjoying his pipe. We presented him with our firman from the Grand Signior; and a letter from the Bashaw of Tripoli, and were most courteously received. A pipe, coffee, sweetmeats, and perfume are successively presented on these occasions, and the last is always understood as a hint to finish the visit. He applied the firman respectfully to his forehead and then kissed it, declaring himself the sultan's slave's slave; told us that the land he commanded, and all in it, was ours; that we were his welcome guests as long as we could stay, and might securely pursue our business under his friendly protection."

"No part of oriental manners shews those people in so amiable a light as their discharge of the duties of hospitality: indeed the severities of Eastern despotism have ever been softened by this virtue, which happily flourishes most where it is most wanted. The Great forget the insolence of power to the stranger under their roof, and only preserve a dignity, so tempered by tenderness and

humanity, that it commands no more than grateful respect, which is otherwise scarce known in a country when inferiors are so much oftener taught to fear than to love.

"Avarice is no doubt as much as Eastern vice as hospitality is an Eastern virtue; but we must observe that we found the most sordid instances of the former in men of power and public employment, while we experienced much generosity in private retired life: we are therefore cautious of charging to the character of a people what the nature of their government seems to require. For the uninterrupted series of shameless venality which regulates the discharge of every public duty, from the Prime Vizir downwards, and which, in the true spirit of despotism, stops only at the wretch who is too low to make reprisals, every subaltern in power must submit to that portion of the common prostitution which belongs to his rank, and which seems therefore the vice of the office rather than of the man.

"We had been advised to distrust the Emir, whose character was infamous, and soon had occasion to see how friendly that caution was. Though we had sent our presents according to the custom of the country, yet

new demands were every day made, which for some time we thought it advisable to satisfy; but they were so frequent, and at last so insolently repeated, that it became necessary to give a peremptory refusal".

"Frequent negociations produced by his quarrel, in which the Emir unsuccessfully exerted all his art and villany, ended in an open declaration, on his side, that we should be attacked and cut to pieces on our way from Balbec. When he heard that those menaces had not the effect he expected, and that we were prepared to set out with about twenty armed servants, he sent us a civil message, desiring that we might interchange presents and part friends, and allow his people to guard us as far as Mount Libanus; to which we agreed. Not long after this he was assassinated by an emissary of that rebellious brother whom we have mentioned, and who succeeded him in the government of Balbec".

10) On April 2nd they took leave of Balbec, "glad to get rid of the Scoundrel Emir", and on the 6th reached their ship at Tripoli, whence they sailed on the 9th via Cyprus to Greece, intent on carrying on their work at Athens. But on arrival they found* Stuart and Revett already at work

10) From Dawkins' diaries. Wood gives no date in 'Balbec'.

*James Stuart and Nicholas Revett - published "The Antiquities of Athens" - 1st Vol. 1762.

on the antiquities there: and beyond offering all the encouragement in their power they took no part. With Stuart they made a tour including the famous places of the classical world - Marathon, Thermopylae, Thebes, Delphi, Corinth and others; and on Monday, 7th June, were on board the Matilda in harbour at Porto Leone.

WOOD'S POLITICAL LIFE.

Part I. Chapter III.

WOOD'S POLITICAL LIFE.

After they returned from the East Wood and Dawkins commenced preparations for giving the results of their explorations to the public. Dawkins varied this activity by engaging in Jacobite intrigues - he was one of the most notable conspirators until 1755, when he broke entirely with the Pretender because of his debauched living which unfitted him for his high calling-but he spared neither time nor trouble in assisting his fellow-traveller with the publication of "The Ruins of Palmyra," which appeared in 1753, and which was edited by Wood.

In March of the same year, when the young and sickly Duke of Bridgewater was sent on a tour of Europe, his guardians[1] "selected for his companion a man of the highest distinction for talent and acquirement, the scholar, the traveller, and the antiquarian, Robert Wood." The latter enjoyed no sinecure in attempting to guide his unruly charge,[2] "and evidence exists that Wood often wished himsllf back in the desert he had so lately left." He nevertheless seems to have succeeded in communicating to his pupil some taste for the arts,[3] "which afterwards displayed itself in the formation of the Bridgewater Gallery," and he even per: :suaded the Duke to purchase some marbles and tables of Egyptian granite,[4] "which, however, remained in their original

1. Quarterly Review, March.1884.Article "On Aqueducts and Canals."
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

packing-cases till after his death."

When he returned to England Wood engaged with Dawkins in preparations for a second publication, which was justified by the success of Palmyra; but,[x] being called from his country "by other duties," he had to rely almost entirely on his friend. Dawkins, with the same energy and self-sacrificing spirit he had shown in the desert, attended to every detail, and "had the engravings so far advanced as to be ready for the public under our joint inspection," when Wood returned. Wood was continuing with his work on Homer when he was called to serve as Under-Secretary of State to Pitt, whom he had been recommended "by his taste and ingenuity."

Until his death in 1771 Wood was occupied with politics, and intensively so until 1769. He never attained the highest office, but he excercised a distinct if inconspicuous influence on the course of events. The part he played, if we believe Horace Walpole, was no creditable one: but the latter's evidence in often suspect and conclusively false in at least one striking instance, and must be treated with reserve.

On his epitaph, written by Walpole at the request of his widow, Wood is described as "a man of supreme benevolence." This inspried tribute, however, is counterbalanced by statements in Walpole's works that Wood used his official position dishonestly for personal gain; that "he was full of guile, dark and interested"; and that "his character was much

[x] It was probably on the occasion of this absence from England that Wood wrote from Rome his letter to Dawkins, in effect a draft of the Essay on Homer. (See Part II b).

higher in the literary than in the political world." These qualities are perhaps not inconsistent with "supreme benevolence," and the author of "Palmyra" and "Balbec," plunged into the corrupt political life of his time, may have become tainted with the vice of venality which he condemned in the Turks. But it would be unwise to condemn him on Walpole's evidence alone.

The picture we have of Wood from the scanty material available is of a man of decided independence of spirit and of downright temper, who acted in delicate political negotiations with more honesty than prudence, and who used a language so unambiguous and free from parliamentary finesse that it is difficult to believe wholly in the guile imputed to him by Walpole.

From non-political sources the only information is contained in the Quarterly Review for March, 1844. The writer, commenting on the consequences of "the Mezentian connection between an accomplished man and a backward and unruly boy" (the Duke of Bridgewater) says, "To a man so gifted his new companion must have been a bad exchange for Bouverie and Dawkins, and who ever yet felt the luxuries of European travelling a compensation for the delights of the desert. Wood, indeed, was no college pedagogue, but a man of the world - of that world which acknowledges a Chesterfield as its guide in morals as well as behaviour."

*Wood held his post of Under-Secretary of State during the whole of Pitt's administration, and must have performed his duties with acceptance, since Pitt designed for him the Board of Trade, which Wood declined. He asked instead an annuity for his wife,[5] "which would give me more pleasure and be more consistent with my plan of independence."

When Pitt demitted office in 1761 Wood remained, and according to Walpole they parted not the best of friends. [6] "His taste and ingenuity had recommended him to Mr. Pitt for his private secretary when Minister; but the observance required by Pitt, and the pride, though dormant, of Wood, had been far from cementing the connection. Wood had then attached himslef to the Duke of Bridgewater, and throughthim to the Bedford faction; but remaining in office when Mr. Pitt quitted, had, with too much readiness, complied with the orders of his new masters. His general behaviour was decent, as became his dependent situation; but his nature was hot and veering to the despotic."

It is true that Wood was capable of stating his opinions in strong terms, even when they were opposed to those of the great Minister: but the whole tenour of his letters, and the

*The first letter of Wood as Secretary is dated May, 1757. ~~He became Secretary in 1757, and must have been employed from this year.~~

[5] App. I. - Letter of 9th Nov. 1761.

[6] Walpole, H. - Memoirs of George III. I.288. In I.219 Note 1.- Robert Wood, author of the accounts of Balbec and Palmyra, and Under-Secretary of State. He had been so made by Lord Chatham, but had deserted him.

fact that he continued to correspond with Pitt in friendly terms as late as 1769, suggests that relations were in no way strained. "Allow me to conclude," Wood wrote on November 9th, 1761, "by assuring you that, whatever I may or may not owe to you, as your Secretary, shall, in no shape, influence my sense of what I owe to you, above all men, as a member of the Community, a gratitude which no private motives shall heighten or suppress."

The two letters of Sept. 1763, also, indicate that, although out of office, Pitt was regarded by Wood as the only man fitted to give stability to administration. Wood assumed the part of, and was accepted as, Pitt's informant on the latest political moves; strange conduct surely on the part of a deserter, or of one who was not friendly, or of one who too readily obeyed his new masters. It is to be noted that Wood placed no reliance on the wild rumours of Pitt's intended proscription of his political opponents. His letters were in the nature of a fore: warning against dangers deliberately created by the place-seekers, whose only hope of preserving their own stop-gap administration lay in misrepresentkng the intentions of one whose prestige was far greater than theirs, and who, it was confidently anticipated, would be invited by the King to form

App. I. - Chat. Correspondence. The D.N.B. thinks these letters were written to re-establish friendly relations, implying that Wood was hoping to retain his place in the event of Pitt's return. It is unthinkable that Wood would have imagined he would be able to deceive Pitt by such a strategem.

a Ministry. Whatever Wood's motives in remaining he was sufficiently far in the grace of the great man as late as [8]1769 to pay his compliments, to regret being disappointed in his intention to pay his respects, and to take the liberty "of leaving a turtle in German Street, which has had a very quick conveyance from Martinico."

From the date of Pitt's retiral Wood was in office in Lord Bute's ministry as Under-Secretary to Lord Egremont ~~until the Treat~~during those momentous years which saw the sign: :ing of the Treaty of Paris and the arrest of Wilkes. In both of these events Wood was implicated. He held out for milder terms for the French, thereby incurring the displeasure of Wilkes, whom it was (it) his duty, and possibly his pleasure, later to arrest; for Wilkes's dislike of him could not have been unknown to Wood, who was openly attacked in the North Briton No. 15 (Saturday, Sept. 11, 1762).

In this number the author delivered a violent attack on the Government for their conduct of the negotiations wtih France: and, referring to a letter which Wood had addressed to the City of London ("neither of the secretaries of state condes: :cended on this occasion to write to the City of London") wrote, "This ministerial advocate must in vain expect to turn our thoughts from what we all feel to be of the truest national importance. The alarm is universal, and can only be calmed, if indeed it can be calmed, by authentic enformation of what

[8] App. I.

is concealed so mysteriously from the world."

Wilkes's aversion to the Government, to Egremont the Secretary of State, and especially to the Under-Secretary Wood is more plainly to be seen in 'A North Briton Extra: :ordinary" of Thursday, April 7, 1763. This document, written by a late director of the East India Company, was printed by Wilkes at the press in his house, but, "from some fluctuation in the politics of the company," was never pub: :lished. From this curcumstance the paper, which gives in full detail the course of the negotiations between the Government and the Company relative to the impending peace treaty with France, is doubly interesting for our purpose. It contains information known only to the initiated few who took part in the discussions, and serves as complementary evidence to Walpole's statement that Wood[9] "was suspected of having, in concert with Sullivan (a director of the Company), betrayed the East India Company at the last peace," a state: :ment based on general rumours, against which must be placed the concrete evidence led by one Mr. Rous before "a general court" (presumably of directors) in his own defence when charged with malpractice.

The proposals of the East India Company, which had been acceptable to the Pitt administration, were considered by the government in power to be too humiliating to the French. In further conversations the Company insisted on

[9] Walpole,H. - Memoirs of George III. IV 2.

their original terms - the total exclusion of the French from Bengal: and the only "betrayal" on Wood's part was the suggestion of milder conditions of peace, which must ultim: :ately have been for the benefit of the company, since they had to accept them in any case, and only alienated the sympathies of the government by their unyielding attitude.[10]

Although in a subordinate position Wood seems to have acted with more resolution than his chief, and to have stated his opinions with more frankness than was perhaps politic in so delicate a negotiation. The tone of his communications left no doubt as to his belief that the Company must accommodate their interests to the general plan of peace, and it is not difficult to see how the sup: :porters of the company who aimed at a complete destruction of French influence in India would spread rumours of being "betrayed."

The quality of Wood's temper and his method of dealing with those who, he considered, were evading the issue, are apparent from the report of the meeting between the chairman of the secret committee and Egremont. "On the 16th of Sep: :tember (1762) the chairman waited on Lord Egremont, in order to obtain an explanation of Mr. Wood's letter of the 11th. His lordship expressed great displeasure in regard to the sentiments of the secret committee, which had been transmitted to him; and when he was assured by the chairman

[10] See App. II - A North Briton Extraordinary - for the full report.

of the disposition of the directors to do everything in their power to facilitate an accommodation with France, and was intreated to point out in what manner the directors might be able to promote that good purpose - his lordship - declined giving any answer. But although his lordship was backward in declaring his sentiments, his secretary was not at all so; and very freely and without reserve charged the chairman with chicanery and dealing uncandidly with the government."

The North Briton, "with the greatest cheerfulness," proposed to comply with the request of his correspondent to comment on these negotiations, "and on Saturday next will not only consider the justification of a worthy individual, and the interest of a respectable company, but likewise dare (for what shall not truth dare?) to pay his most humble respects to the minister, together with his high and mighty agent, Mr. Wood."

The commentary promised "on Saturday next" did not appear. The next issue of the North Briton was delayed until Saturday, April 23rd, 1763, and this was the fateful No. 45, which was destined to bring the author into closer contact with the high and mighty Mr. Wood.

On April 30th the general warrant issued against "the authors, printers, and publishers" of the North Briton 45 was put into execution, and Wilkes was arrested. To Lord Halifax's secretary, Weston, fell the duty of supervising

the seizure of Wilkes's papers: but he[11] pleaded exemption on the grounds of ill health and weak nerves, and Wood, probably not unwillingly, accepted the responsibility deputed to him as secretary to the other Secretary of State. Wilkes's papers were seized in presence of Wood and the notorious Carteret Webb, the Solicitor to the Treasury, and according to evidence led later at the trial put into a sack without inventory and carried away. After six days Wilkes was liberated by judg: :ment of the court of common pleas; and at the same court he lodged[12] "an action for trespass, for entering plaintiff's house, breaking his locks, and seizing his papers, &c." - against Wood.

In the interval between the arrest of Wilkes and his action against Wood, the latter resigned,[13] shortly after 3rd Sept. 1763, and probably on the 9th, when a reshuffle of the offices of administration took place, and Lord Sandwich became Secretary of State,[14] which office Wood had filled since the death of Egremont. The reason for his resignation is unknown. There can be little question of his having quitted to anticipate dismissal if Pitt returned to displace the new and very insecure ministry, since he did not believe the

11. State Trials. XIX. 1150-54.
12 Ibid.
13 App.I- Chat.Corr.-Letter of 3rd Sept.1763. In the Mure Papers in a letter of 10th Jan.1766 (Pt.II.Vol.II.58) Wood is described as having been dismissed from some other position by the Marquis of Rockingham, who wrote as a mark of friendship, quoting the doc: :trine of restitution as a just one, since Wood "had been put in when one of their friends was turned out."
14 Mure Papers. - Part II. Vol. I. 191.

rumours of a proposed general proscription of those who had voted for the peace. Rather is it probable that,[15] "heartily wishing to see an end of all temporary, contemptible expedients, to retard a rational plan for restoring that dignity and confidence to administration which is lost - a very difficult task, which becomes more so by weak procrastination, and must, sooner or later, fall to your share," Wood foresaw the breakdown of Pitt's negotiations with the king, and re: :fused any longer to be associated with a ministry in which he had no confidence, and which he recognised to be a stop-gap.

From November 15th, 1763, to the middle of February of the following year the Wilkes case occupied the attention of Parliament. On the above date Wilkes made complaint to the House "[16] of a Breach of the Priviledge of this House, and seizing of his Papers." After debate a motion was carried on the 24th "[17] that Privilege of Parliament does not extend to the Case of writing, and publishing, seditious Libels, nor ought to be allowed to obstruct the ordinary Course of the Laws, in the speedy and effectual Prosecution of so heinous and dangerous an Offence." Wilkes, however, went on triumphantly with his prosecution of Wood.

[15] App. I. - Chat.Corr. Letter of 3rd Sept. 1763.

[16] Journals of the House of Commons. XXIX. 667.

[17] Ibid. 673.

The case was tried on 6th December, 1763 at the court of common pleas before Lord Chief Justice Pratt and a special jury.[18] Wood's defence, undertaken by the Solicitor General, was (1) not guilty, (2) special justification. The decision hinged on (1) whether Wood was an inactive spectator or an active participant; and (2) whether Wilkes could be proved to be the author of the North Briton 45. The jury brought in their verdict at 11.20 p.m., and found for the plaintiff on both issues, and awarded £1000 damages,[19] which sum was ultimately paid by the Treasury.

The justification of the Government of their arrest of Wilkes, on the one hand, and Wilkes's verdict over Wood, on the other, did not settle the wider issues at stake. The Government pressed their case in the House and had Wilkes declared[20] the author of the North Briton 45, which had already been voted to be "a false, scandalous and seditious Libel:" and he was expelled the House, (January 19th, 1764). Next day complaint was made of a breach of privilege by Wood, Carteret Webb and others, and the case was debated on the 13th - 15th February.

In the debate, which ultimately led to a crisis in the administration, the Government insisted on disculpating

18. State Trials XXIX. 1153.

19. The Grenville Papers III. ~~92.~~ 94-5

20. Journals of the House of Commons XXIX. 721.

the accused, and treating the affair of General Warrants as a separate issue. The Opposition contended that in the event of General Warrants being declared illegal it followed that Wood and the rest must incur some blame. At 4.30 a.m. on the 15th a motion for adjournment by the Opposition was rejected by only 207 votes to 197 - really a defeat for the Government. Later it was again moved to adjourn, but the Government, having summoned their forces, prevailed by a slightly greater margin - 208 to 184, and the complaint against the accused was discharged without division. The House rose at 7. 30 a.m. after the longest sitting on record.

During the debate Wood is reported to have "acquitted himself with great spirit in his late ridiculous tryal about privilege." His conduct appealed differently to Walpole, who wrote that "Mr. Wood who had shone on the preceding day by great modesty, decency, and ingenuity, forfeited these merits a good deal by starting up (according

21. Walpole,H.- Memoirs of George III - I 288ff and Grenville Papers II 261ff.

22. Ibid.

23. Mure Papers - Pt. II Vol 1 239.

24. Walpole,H.- Letters. VI 2-4.
Walpole, - Memoirs I Chap. 25. To the suggestion that the accused could be neither acquitted nor condemned till the general question should be affirmed or condemned, Wood "with much heat and arrogance, replied that he would not accept of being 'excused'." The Grenville Papers. II 261-264. In Mr. Grenville's report to the King he wrote,"Lord Frederick Campbell spoke with great spirit, and extremely will, for determining the cause of the persons charged by the complaint

to a ministerial plan), and very arrogantly, and repeatedly in the night, demanding justice and a previous acquittal, and telling the House he scorned to accept being merely 'excused'; to this Mr. Pitt replied, that if he disdained to be 'excused', he would deserve to be 'censured'."

There was no imputation against Wood's honesty during the debate, which was to decide whether he was or was not legally guilty. Lord George Sackville told him that intentionally he had done right, but was not ready to say that he had done legally right. Sir George Saville said Wood was guilty of impatience, though an honest one. Even Walpole goes so far as to say,[25] "In truth there could be no thought of separating the questions but in compliment to Wood, for few could have any partiality for Webbe."

For several years after this Wood did not appear much in the public eye. There was a rumour[26] in 1765 that Lord Hertford had been "offered Ireland," and that the appointment was dependent on his accepting either Wood or another as secretary. In[27] 1766 there is no record beyond the note of his dismissal from some post by Rockingham. In 1767 he was in France, where he had a house, dining along with

of the breach of privilege before the House proceeded upon the general matter..... Mr. Wood then spoke for having the charge decided, and this seemed to made a good deal of impression."

25. Walpole, H. - Memoirs of George III. I Chap. 25.

26. Walpole, H. Letters. VI.217

27. Ibid. VII.130

Walpole with the Duc de Choiseul, a minister to France, who was very civil to Walpole, but much more so to Wood. "I forgive this gratitude to the 'peacemakers'," is Walpole's comment.[28] In 1774 Walpole again refers to the meeting. "Though exceedingly agreeable himself (the Duc de Choiseul), I don't think his taste exquisite. Perhaps I was piqued; but he seemed to like Wood better than any of us."

Wood again came into office in December 1767 as Secretary to Lord Weymouth, one of the new Secretaries of State appointed under the Grafton administration which had displaced the Pitt-Grafton coalition. Lord Weymouth was by character wholly unfitted for his post. He was a gambler and drinker, but had an acute mind and sufficient address to cut a figure in the House after getting up in the afternoon following bouts of gambling and drinking lasting till six in the morning. Under such a chief it is not surprising that most of the business of office devolved upon Wood.

The general election of 1768 (in which Wood was re-elected for the Duke of Bridgewater's pocket-borough of Brackley) saw the triumph of Wilkes in his Middlesex candidature and enthusiastic popular riots in his favour. In a supine government the only active measures were taken by Weymouth, and even he required to be spurred on[29] "by Wood's

[28] Walpole, H. - Letters. IX. 116.

[29] Walpole, H. - Mmmoirs of George III. III Chap. 1.

animosity to Wilkes. Wood indeed said that if the King should pardon Wilkes, Lord Weymouth would not sign the pardon."

The political outcome of the riots was an attack in the House on the Gevernment for its inefficiency in deal: :ing with them. Wood defended the Ministry with vigour, and to George Grenville he replied characteristically,[30] "All the steps were, I maintain, taken, that could be taken. If they had not, I should admit that there had been neglect; though I must consider the word 'connivance' a little severe. As to the seamen's mob, the right honourable gentleman knows nothing of the matter."

During the years 1769 and 1770, when the country was in suspense and on the verge of war with France and Spain, Wood is reported by Walpole as having behaved in a thoroughly unpatriotic manner: with what justification will be considered.

The tension between France and England, already percep: :tible at this period, became acute in 1769, due to a curious, and in itself, trivial incident. A French ship entering the Downs failed to dip her pennant in accordance with Admiralty orders, which were never recognised except by the Dutch; and, being fired on, her captain still declined, but declared himself a prize. France presented a strong memorial, to which Weymouth replied in harsher terms than Walpole considered necessary: indeed, the memorial was merely a matter of form,

[30] Cavendish - Debates. I. 9.

and required no answer, but Wood, for his own ends, insisted on replying.[31] "Lord Weymouth was governed by Wood, his secretary, who was suspected of having, in concert with Sullivan, betrayed the East India Company at the last peace. Wood was a great stockjobber, and now, and in the following year, was vehemently accused of bending the bow of war towards the butt of his interest. This was the more suspected, as, though we had now been the aggressors, France had for some time winked at the insult offered to their ship, and wished to receive no answer to their memorial, when Wood persisted in making a reply - which lowered the stocks. He who thus lowered them, could raise them again when he pleased."

The crisis passed, only to be followed by another in 1770, when a dispute with Spain arose over the possession of the Falkland Islands, with France requiring careful handling to prevent her joining Spain. Lord North, who had succeeded Grafton as Prime Minister, was undecided whether to advise war of peace. He was assured by[x] France's that France[32] "was intensively bent on preserving peace":- (again Walpole is quoted). "On the other hand, the most mysterious, and indeed suspicious, conduct was held by Lord Weymouth and his governor Wood, who communicated as little of the negotiations to Lord North. This conduct requires both a detail and a comment.

[31] Walpole, H. - Memoirs of George III. IV Chap. 1 Note.

[x] The French Resident.

[32] Walpole, H. - Memoirs of George III. IV Chap. 5.

"Not only to Lord North was Lord Weymouth reserved and uncommunicative; not only to Francés would he give no opening; but to Robert Walpole, Secretary to the Embassy at Paris, his dispatches were so mysterious and inexplicit that Thomas Walpole advised his brother to send them back, or come away..... Wood came under bad suspicions, and, I believe, very deservedly, on this enigmatic conduct, to which many motives concurred. His ideas were by no means ready, though in writing he had the art of elucidating them beautifully. He was full of guile, dark, and interested. His patrons, Lord Weymouth and Lord Gower, were impatient to overthrow Lord North, and share or scramble for his power; and Wood, though willing to promote their views, had certainly a farther view of his own. He was impressed with a notion that war with Spain was unavoidable; and concluded that his ancient master, Lord Chatham, would be called out by the nation to manage that war - at least, on the first check given to our arms. This he inadvertently dropped; and the irregularities of Lord Weymouth's subsequent con: :duct confirmed the opinion that Wood was not unwilling to purchase his pardon of Lord Chatham, by the sacrifice of Lord North, and by the treachery of Lord Weymouth. Nor was this the most culpable part of Wood's conduct. Francés, who trafficked deeply in our stocks as they fluctuated during the vicissitudes of the negotiation, discovered Wood in the same path, and playing with the transactions

as it suited his ~~his~~ moneyed views. This Francés com: :municated to many, and , I believe, to Lord North, of whose honour he spoke highly, and vaunting that he himself could conclude the peace in a day's time, if not traversed by Wood."

During the negotiations the Bedford faction, who, with Weymouth and Wood, inclined to Lord Chatham, opposed the Government in a division,[33] "and Lord Weymouth, whose ambition aspired to the lead and in the Administration," and with him, Wood, resigned. Weymouth had supported the King's martial views, and "on that plan, and encouraged by Wood's awe of Lord Chatham, they had thrown every damp on the negotiation, and involved themselves in repeated declarations of the war being unavoidable. Lord North, of pacific mould, and the Scottish junto - as apprehensive as Wood that a war would bring back Lord Chatham, had takem a contrary course, and had brought back the king from his martial system. Lord Weymouth, who would not have hesitated to change his language had he thought peace could be effected, chose rather to waive his ambition than his security, and adhered to war."

These circumstances "probably convinced Wood that a temporary retreat was necessary; and the confidence of the Bedford squadron in their own strength disposed them to acquiesce in it; for I cannot believe that, while their conduct harmonized with Weymouth's, they were ignorant of his intentions. Lord Weymouth, Lord Gower, the Duke of

[33] Walpole, H. - Memoirs of George III. IV Chap. 6.

Grafton, and Lord Sandwich, were more considerable in the House of Lords than any Speakers that would remain in the Ministry; so that if Lord North could carry through the peace, they might still command terms; or if Lord Chatham was forced upon the King, he must have been glad of their support. But Lord North had the sagacity to secure Lord Sandwich (between whom and Weymouth there was much jealousy) by making him Secretary of State. The others escaped by having been less precipitate; and Lord Weymouth and Wood remained the sole victims of their own insidious artifices.

"No man was more troubled at this sudden resignation than Monsieur Francés, the French Resident. As I was very intimate with him, he vented his lamentations to me in several visits. He said the Bedfords were "des scelerats'; that they might have made peace three months before; and that that very morning he himself had offered to Lord North to set out directly for Paris, and would pawn his head if he did not return with peace; that Lord North wanted courage, and was too jealous of Spain - that the King of Spain would easily have made peace at first if we would not have armed. I was far from agreeing that Lord North had been to blame in being prepared. Wood, said Francés, had nearly blown up a war with France the last year on the affair of the flag, having insisted on giving an answer to their memorial, though Francés, who had been forced to demand an answer in form, had begged Wood not to give one.

He imputed much of the delays in the negotiation to Wood's stock-jobbing (in which, no doubt, no man was more capable of detecting another than Francés, who was deep in that mystery himself), and said he had sent to Lord Weymouth on the 14th to ask that he might make new propositions; but the other had refused to see him." "Though I knew," Walpole concludes his commentary on the negotiations, "how ill-disposed Francés was to this country, and that Monsieur du Chatelet was suspected of having incited the King to the seizure of the Falkland Islands, and the Duc de Choiseul but waited for the means, and would then have found an opportunity of attacking us; yet I was and am persuaded, that Francés at that moment acted with sincerity."

In this period of English history, when political rancour was at its height, and when the corruption of the greatest in the land gave openings for attack to political enemies who were in any case ready with their calumnies when no just grounds for suspicion existed, it is not sur: :prising that Wood did not escape without incurring his share of the current slander. His character, in certain circles at least, was not held to be of the highest, for when it was believed that he was to be Lord Gower's Sec: :retary in Ireland in 1769,[34] in three or four companies of Irish Gentlemen more objections were raised to Wood's

34 Hist. M.SS. Commission. 8th Rep. p.191. From a letter of Edmund Sexten Pery, Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland.

mean birth, to his public and private character, upon the mere supposition of his being Secretary, than I had ever heard against those who had been two sessions in Parlia: :ment in the country and who had got one of the best employments out of it." But that his actions bear the construction put upon them by Walpole, and that he was so infamous as Walpole would have us believe, is a matter of more than uncommon doubt.

It is curious that an accomplished villain, "full of guile, dark, and interested," should be so careless as inadvertently to drop statements detrimental to himself: and it is remarkable that Walpole's charges are either based on current rumour and unsubstantiated, or rest on the doubtful authority of Francés. Wood "was suspected of having betrayed the East India Company at the last peace," - (with what justification has already been seen) - and now "he came under bad suspicions, and I believe very deservedly," of betraying his trust in the negotiations of 1770. Walpole also "believed" that Francés, his infor: :mant of Wood's stockjobbing, had confided Wood's treachery amongst others to Lord North, the Prime Minister!

On Walpole's admission Francés used the suspense between the two countries for his stock-jobbing when he ought to have exerted every effort to resolve it: and he was ill-disposed towards England. Yet on this particular occasion he was credited with a sincere desire to effect an agree:

:ment. It would not be unjust, without more ado, to reject Walpole's faith in Francés, and to suspect that the latter attempted to excuse the failure due to his own double-dealing by throwing the blame on the other participant in the negot: :iations. But there is definite evidence which, in one instance, proves Francés' (or Walpole's) charges to be with: :out foundation, and which must consequently cast doubts on the reliability of all their reports. It is only necessary to compare the account ~~of all their reports.~~) of the 1769 contretemps, with the account given of the same affair by the Duke of Grafton, who, as Prime Minister, was intimately and personally concerned in effecting a settlement.

[35]According to this report, undoubtedly the true account, the French insisted on satisfaction for the insult offered to their flag. Of the French Ambassador Lord Weymouth reported to the Cabinet in session that "his reply upon every memorial, and his language every day became more resolute, by insisting on a suitable satisfaction for the affront which had been done to the King, his master's dignity."

Every conceivable solution was proposed and reciprocally rejected, and it was only when the crisis had become acute that Grafton advanced the suggestion that it would be unfair to the English lieutenant concerned if action were taken

[35] Walpole, H. - Memoirs of George III. - App. Extract from Memoirs of the Duke of Grafton.

against him without his version of the incident having been heard; and - he had sailed for the East Indies, and could not be expected back for three years. The French Ambassador concurred in the expedient, and the Duke of Grafton, on his walk home, did not know that he was ever so elated, as he reflected on the miseries that had been spared so many families and individuals.

The charges against Wood, then, that he encouraged enmity and prolonged negotiations for his own ends, must be dismissed, and imputed to the malice of Francés or Walpole, or both. If he used his inner knowledge to buy and sell advantageously, he did not betray his country in the process, however "vehemently" he was accused.

How far Wood was implicated in the intrigues prior to his resignation must be a matter of opinion. Walpole's interpretation of his conduct, however, seems particularly unsatisfactory. Surely the treachery of one noble lord, and the sacrifice of another, and he the Prime Minister, for a place, and probably a subordinate one, in a succeeding government, was too huge an offering to the gods of policy to be credible. And if Wood "was impressed with a notion that war with Spain was unavoidable", that would compel him to advocate preparedness and justify his part in the negotiations. As to Wood's leanings towards Lord Chatham when war was imminent, we need not ascribe his motives to a desire to conciliate his former chief, but rather to his

faith in Lord Chatham as the only man capable of giving stability to the administration. We revert naturally to the words of Wood's letter to Chatham in 1763; the sincerity of which, unless we charge the author with gross hypocrisy, there is no reason to disbelieve. And there is no reason why we should charge him with hypocrisy, unless we prefer the dubious testimony of Walpole.

After his resignation Wood held no[x] other office, and apparently had no intention to take a further part in politics. He did not long enjoy his comparative leisure, for he died on 9th Sept. 1771, after a short indisposition, in the house in Putney in which Gibbon was born.

Walpole noted that Wood was[36] "a man whose character was much brighter in the literary than in the political world," and composed the epitaph engraved on his monument: "To the beloved memory of Robert Wood, a man of supreme benevolence, who was born at the Castle of Riverstown, near Trim, in the County of Meath: and died Sept. 9, 1771, in the 55th year of his age: and of Thomas Wood, his son, who died August 25th 1772, in his ninth year. Ann, their once happy wife and mother, now dedicates this melancholy and inadequate memorial

[x] From 1761 until his death Wood was Master of the Revels and Masques and Director and Supervisor of the State Music for Ireland. - (Liber Munerum. Vol. I. Pt. III. 109).

[36] Walpole, H. - Memoirs of George III. IV. Chap. 9.

of their affection and grief. The beautiful Editions of Balbec and Palmyra, illustrated by the classic Pen of Robert Wood, supplies a nobler and more lasting Monument, and will survive those august Remains." x

x The "Valuable Library of Robert Wood, Esq.," was sold by public auction from April 22 to April 25, 1772. The library included a representative collection of English authors, books of travel, all the Latin and Greek classics, and many French and Italian works. "A Bible in Latin, a Manuscript wrote in a very large Character, with illumin: :ations, in four large Volumes, Folio," had been bought at Brussels from Count Coblitz's library, and cost one hundred guineas. The sale yielded in all £556 :11 : 3.

PART II. (a).

INTRODUCTION - HISTORY OF THE ESSAY ON HOMER.

The "Essay on the Original Genius of Homer" was first printed in London in 1767 as a large folio volume priced at six guineas. No trace of this edition has been found beyond the copy in the Grenville Library in the British Museum, and it is probable that it got no further than a specimen copy sent for inspection to the Rt. Hon. Thomas Grenville, to whom Wood wrote, [1] "As soon as I have put into some method those remarks upon Homer's Geography I shall send them to your Lordship. I believe you will agree with me in thinking that if he has been praised immoderately he has also been blamed inconsiderably; his reputation has met with that whimsical fate not uncommon to all great Genius's, of having more beauties and faults laid to him than he deserves; if my remarks meet your approbation I shall be vain of having done Homer justice, & more so of having found a beauty in him which your Lordship did not know". The title of the book was "A Comparative View of the Antient and Present State of ^the Troade. To which ^is prefixed an essay on the original Genius of Homer". Actually, there was no Troade in this edition, which circumstance supports the supposition that only one example was printed. It could hardly have got into general circulation with this inaccurate and misleading title.

1) Hellenic Soc. MSS. No. 18. p. 80.

Two years later, in 1769, the essay was reissued in royal quarto at two guineas, in an extended form, but even then only[2] seven copies were struck off and distributed among Wood's special friends. One of these copies was retained with the author's permission by Mr. Bowyer the printer; another found its way into the hands of Prof. J.D. Michaelis of Göttingen, Wood's future translator, with whom he is said to have corresponded.[3] One is in the British Museum.

In 1775 the Essay and the Troade were published together in their full form from material left behind by Wood, who had died in 1771. A Dublin edition appeared in 1776, and a second London edition in 1824.[4]

The Essay was translated in 1773 by Michaelis into German and reprinted in 1778.[4] [5] Translations were also made into French, Spanish and Italian.

Although only accessible to the general public in 1775, Wood's work had been projected almost twenty years previously in a* letter to Dawkins, written in Rome in 1757 (?) The sketch had Dawkins' approval; but while preparing it for the press Wood was called to his political post and had to lay Homer aside for a time of more leisure. The subject

2) Nichols, J. - Biog. and Lit. Anecdotes, p. 416.
3) Goethe's Sämmtl. Werke (Jub. Ausg.) XXXVI 313 note.
4) Brayley - A Topographical Hist. of Surrey, III. 485. Here the 1775 edition is said to have been reprinted in 1797. There is no example in the British Museum.
5) D.N.B.

*See Pt. II. (b).

was not entirely dropped, however, for in the course of that active period "the duties of my situation engaged me in an occasional attendance upon a nobleman, (The Earl of Granville), who, while he presided at his Majesty's councils, reserved some moments for literary amusements. His Lordship was very partial to this subject, and I seldom had the honour of receiving his commands on business that he did not lead the conversation to Greece and Homer. He desired to see the letter here mentioned, and was pleased to approve my method of treating his favourite Poet. He advised me to publish the substance of what I had written, changing the epistolary style and form into that of a more regular dissertation, and extending the work, from materials of the same sort (of which I laid a specimen before him) into a more general Commentary upon Homer".

It is in connection with one of those visits to Granville that Wood relates the famous anecdote, quoted amongst others, by[6] Matthew Arnold, who cites it as "exhibiting the English aristocracy at its very height of culture, lofty spirit, and greatness".[7] "Being directed to wait upon his Lordship, a few days before he died, with the preliminary articles of the Treaty of Paris, I found

6) Arnold, M. - On translating Homer, p. 18.
7) Essay on Homer - (1775) p. vii.

him so languid that I proposed postponing my business for another time; but he insisted that I should stay, saying, it could not prolong his life, to neglect his duty; and repeating the following passage, out of Sarpedon's speech, he dwelled with particular emphasis on the third line, which recalled to his mind the distinguishing part he had taken in public affairs.* "For if, escaping the present combat, we might be for ever undecaying and immortal, neither would I myself fight among the foremost nor would I urge you onto the glorious battle; but now - for a thousand fates of death stand close to us always, and no mortal can escape or evade them - let us go".

His Lordship repeated the last word several times with a calm and determinate resignation; and after a serious pause of some minutes he desired to hear the treaty read; to which he listened with great attention; and recovered spirits enough to declare the approbation of a dying statesman (I use his own words) on the most glorious War, and most honourable Peace, this nation ever saw".

The influence of Wood's Essay on classical scholarship is undoubted; for, although what came to be known as the "Homeric Question" began in a critical sense in 1795 with F. A. Wolf's Prolegomena, the theory that alphabetical writing was unknown to Homer, and that the Iliad and Odyssey

*From Translation of Il. XII. 322-328 (quoted by Wood in Greek) in Ballantyne's 'Lord Carteret', p. 364.

owed their survival to oral transmission, had already been proposed by Wood in 1769. [8] Wolf recognises his indebtedness; and [9] Jebb, discussing the Homeric Question, says, "The work which had most effect, before the appearance of the prolegomena, was undoubtedly Robert Wood's "Essay on the Original Genius of Homer (1769)". In one chapter he discussed the question whether the art of writing was known to Homer, and answered it in the negative. This view had never before been enforced by critical argument. F. A. Wolf read Wood's Essay in his student days at Göttingen, and refers to it with some praise in the Prolegomena. Wood's doctrine about writing became, in fact, the very keystone of Wolf's theory. [10] J. E. Sandys writes, "In the course of some pages on the learning of Homer, Wood had argued that the art of writing was unknown to the poet. Wolf refers to this passage, and builds his theory upon it"; and in [11] G. P. Gooch we find, "Wolf's most celebrated work, the "Prolegomena to Homer", is one of the cardinal books of the modern world . . . Robert Wood's striking work on the Genius of Homer, published in 1769, was translated into

8) Wolf, F.A. - Prolegomena ad Homerum, p. 23.
9) Jebb, R.C. - Introduct. to the Iliad and Odyssey, p.107.
10) Sandys, J.E. - A History of Classical Scholarship. III. 55 f.
11) Gooch, G.P. - History and Historians in the 19th Century. p. 28.

German, and his thesis that writing was unknown till long after the creation of the poems became the corner-stone of Wolf's edifice".

In yet another branch Wood is regarded as historically important. For the introduction of Greek taste into life and manners (Sitte) the Essay is quoted by [12] C. B. Stark, after he has named several French books, as "epochmaking in its universal effect"; and later Wood is mentioned as "the soul for a time of the Society of Dilettanti; the author of the essay on the Original Genius of Homer, which was so stimulating in Germany (Der Verfasser des in Deutschland as zündenden Versuchs uber das Originalgenie Homers)".

It is the purpose here to consider the Essay on Homer in respect only of its general significance in the History of English and German literature, touching on special issues only in so far as they are relevant. Of the place of the essay in classical studies, therefore, no more will be said, its importance is sufficiently indicated by the opinions cited above.

12) Stark, C.B. - Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst, p. 184, 187.

PART II. (b).

Copy of a letter from R. Wood to J.Dawkins written in Rome after the two travellers had separated after their Eastern tour. it is in effect a preliminary draft of the author's Essay on the original Genius and Writings of Homer." (Hellenic Society MSS. No. 24).

The date of this letter is 1757 or earlier, some time before Wood was called to office under Pitt, and after the publication, or during the preparation of Balbec, mentioned on the last part of the Essay; that is, probably in 1757.

While preparing Balbec for the press Wood was called from his country by other duties. The letter to Dawkins was probably written during Wood's absence from England on this Occasion.

REMARKS-

On Homer's Plan of Troy in a Letter from Rome to James Dawkins Esqr.-

Dear Sir,

The fate of this letter is intirely submitted to your Judgment; your known respect for the publick and approved tenderness for me would sufficiently justify such confidence, were it necessary to give reason for consulting you about the disposal of your own property; but to avoid a disengenious air of compliment in a meer act of duty I must prevent your expectations of finding much more here than Our joynt observations when we read Homer together on the Scamandrian plain.

How far they may by my management have been rendered unworthy of the publick and you, is in justice left to your decision. Could I hope they might be half so entertaining to others as the recollection of the friendly conversations which produced them is pleasing to my self, I should be very little sollicitous about their reception.

Of all the Authors which the different objects of our curiosity made necessary in Our Eastern voyages, you know we found none of such general use as Homer, who either as poet, painter, Historian or Geographer, was ever our faithfull fellow traveller giving us frequent opportunities of observing that in those different Capacities he of all

writers has kept closest to nature and truth.

I had long proposed to myself much pleasure in considering his Map of Greece upon the spot and wished much for an oppertunity of following Ulysses, Menelaus and Telemachus, through the scenes of their various adventures. The satisfaction I had in visiting the Antient Kingdoms of Pheacia and Ithaca was what I had in a great measure promised my self, nor was I much surprized to find that the Poet's sailing observations had furnished him with the same Ephithets which a Pilot would have remarked, so much that if we should from different passages add his knowledge of winds and currents, he would, of all poets (meer Geographers excepted) furnish the least imperfect Sea Chart of the Mediterranean.

You'l perhaps think me whimsically fond of my subject, and smile at my converting the Old Bard into a Pylot, and his Poem into a sea Journal. To restore him therefore to his true Character let me beg you'l recollect how far our expectations were exceeded in finding the meer Poeticall beauties of the Iliad and Odysie grow upon us in proportion to our progress through the Countries of the Poet and his Heroes. If you had not quite so much of that agreeable surprize it was for reasons you won't own, a more intimate acquaintance with Homer and Poetry had taught you that he is the most Original of all writers, and the most constant Copyer of real life, -that the happiest Poetical imitation is that which produces the most strikeing likeness out of circumstances

which the essentially concerned in constituting the resemblance, are so minute that they escape notice if the Copy and Original are not compared; and from that comparison you reasonably expected new beauties.

If this be so, don't we see another reason why the Poet owes more of his reputation to the Iliad than the Odyssee-vizt. that there are more Judges of the first, where he excites terror and pity by such general and invariable pictures of human nature as appeal to the feelings of all Countries and ages, while in the last, where instruction in the duties of private life is intended, he dwells more on particular views of various Countries, Men and Manners, intermixt with such frequent Allusions to the established Religion and familiar customs of the heroic ages as are only known in his Copy or in Countries where he is not read.

Our Judgment in that Case must be directed by that unaffected enumeration of natural circumstances which true genious observes in all Works of imitation, the meer manner of which not only discovers that the picture is taken from life, but that it is like. From this genuin air of truth it is that Judges in painting venture to pronounce a likeness of a Copy to an unknown Original; and, upon the same principles Homer is called natural and pleasing even in descriptions of what we have not seen; but in both cases he enters most into the true spirit of performance who is best acquainted with what is imitated.

For this reason the reader who would do the Poet Justice and himself pleasure, should approach as near as possible to the time and place, when and where he wrote. We are told the Lacedemonians admired him tho he describes Athenian Manners, If then he had beautys at Athens, which were not relished at Sparta, what must an English reader lose.
I may perhaps take another opportunity of shewing the great resemblance I think I have observed between the present manners of Arabia, those of the old testament and of Homer, by which I think it will appear that the Poets Manners in general still subsist in the East preserving that genuin character of nature and simplicity which we admire in the Iliad and Odysse.

But the Material objects of his description come at present under our consideration. They best admit of this comparison on the spot, and still continue to bear more strieking Testimony of his accuracy; not only his more durable Rock, Hills, dale, Water &c, shew by the strict propriety of his Epithets how faithfully they have been Copyed, but even his more changeable Landskip of Flowery mead, verdent plain, wood and Fountain; nay even his sketches of Agriculture and Tillage, his Corn, Wine and Oyl agrees surprizingly with the present face of the Country.

If this unexpected resemblance be thought strained and Imaginary, I beg you'l consider the similar state of Arts and Husbandry in that Country now and in Homer's time, by which only I can account for the great likeness in the

appearances of two such different periods. I doubt much his descriptions of this kind would not have bore so well the same test two thousand years ago, when the face of nature wore an Artfull study'd dress, very different from the negligent dishabille in which Homer and we found her.

But while these considerations, which might be carryed much further, shew the inexhaustable fund of entertainment which an Eastern traveller may expect from Homer, they land us beyond our present purpose, which is only to consider him as the father of Geography, a title he has perhaps as just a right to as to that of the father of Poetry.

It is impossible to make the tour of the Mediterranean with Homer, and not observe that he was a traveller, and not difficult to discover that the traveller was an Ionian or of the Neighbourhood of Troy. Our reasons for this opinion will give some Idea of the general use we made of this Author. If we view his map of the World, I think we may observe that the first impressions he received of the different parts of it were taken at this spot and that he frequently considers things under the perspective which they bear to this point of view when he is not expressley Geographical as in his Map of Greece and Asia.

The Poets speciosa miracula are the growth of Countries remote from Ionia. If Egypt and Phoenicia not_withstanding their distance are not made the scenes of any thing of this sort, it is that they were too well known-the one for trade and Arts, and the other for its fertility and police-
to have admitted any description which did not coincide

with this established Character, while the Southern Coast of Italy and Sicilly as well as the Kingdom of Alcinous tho not so distant, were less frequented. Not only the Adriatic seems to have been little known even to the Phoenicians from the danger of the Italian Harbourless Coast on one side and the Pyratical genius of the Inhabitants of Dalmatia in all ages on the other, but even the Ionian Sea seems to have been neglected in the Heroic times from so bad a neighbourhood.

If it was without design that the Hero of his Second Poem was chosen from this extremity of Greece, it was at least a happy accident that of all those who went to Troy his Country was most distant from Ionia; for both his adventures in Ithaca and the Manners of the Pheoxians have much the air of far fetch'd tales.

While these places, most distant from Ionia, or having least intercourse with it are described in the style of a traveller, the parts in it's Neighbourhood are not proposed as Objects of express description in themselves, but appear as known Circumstances negligently introduced by the facts to which they relate.

On the contrary when Virgill is Geographicall with regard to the Troade, it is with that Reverence and attention to the spott which it's distance and Classical fame had raised. Had he known Troy as well as we must suppose Aeneas did, and had be been as well aequainted with the Temple of Ceres and the Cypress tree as the Hero's servants must have been, we perhaps should not have been obliged to hear his

description of both in the midst of our concern for his escape from an implacable Enemy and a Town on fire. May we not address the Poet here in the Language of his friend Scis singere Cypressum at non erat hie locus.

But what seems to declare most in our favour is that the Poet sometimes inverdently addresses himself to his countrymen by describing things in a manner not intelligable to the reader who don't place himself on the Coast of Ionia or the Islands near it. Thus to place the Locrians beyond Eubea would have been as false geography at Athens as it is the contrary at Chios or Smirna, and is a strong ~~birth~~ presumption against the pretensions of the first to his birth, as it is favourable to the claim of the latter.

The situation of Ithaca is marked quite agreably to the Idea which so Eastern a part of Greece as Ionia must have conceived of a Country which probably terminated their Navigation towards the setting sun; but if we consider that Ulysses makes this description to the inhabitants of an island still West of Ithaca, don't we discover a Blunder of the Poets which he was led into by that natural tendency we have to consider other Countries under the relation they Bear to Our Home.

Another example of the same oversight is I think evident in the I5 book of the Odysse, where Eumaeus describes his native land Syria to Ulysses in Ithaca, as situate beyond Ortygia towards the setting sun. If we admit this as an instance of the same sort of Negligence in Homer by which he inadvertently considered Ortygia here under the relation it bore to Ionia, the passage becomes intelligable and we

get rid of the laboured absurdities of much learned conjecture from which those lines have hitherto received new perplexity.

This evident inattention in Homer is much more excusable if what is generally believed of him be true-viz^t, that he sung his verses to his Countrymen, which becoming by that means more the Entertainment of a publick Audence that of private study, required of course a scenery more adapted to the spot where he recited a new paragraph. Similies in Poetry as they generally consist of an appeal to the most familiar occurrences of private life, naturally point out not only the State of Government, Manners and Arts but the Condition and Country of the Poet, I shall confine myself to one instance purely Geographicall.

Homer of all Poets abounds most in Landskip, but if we would do Justice to his perspective, we must take the point in view from whence he made his drawing. Thus when in the beginning of the 9th book he composes the destruction of the Greeks to a storm, he presents us with a real, not an imaginary sea piece, which no doubt he had often seen,— Boreas Zephyrus &c.- this picture is in all it's Circumstances just if viewed from the Ionian Coast, and to shew it from any other would be as unfair as to ask Judgment of a Claude or Poussin turned upside down.

And yet in this very manner has Homer been treated in the false Criticism of Eratosthenes upon this passage (to which Eustaethius long since gave an obvious answer);

he won't allow the West Wind to blow from Thrace. By considering the one a Ionian and the other an Athenian, we see why the poet is accurate and the Critick absurd.

Notwithstanding what we have observed of the Poets making distant places the objects of express description and leaving those in his Neighbourhood to be pickt out of the Action and open gradually with the story, it, will, I believe, appear that he was so perfectly well acquainted with the ground about Troy, that he must have carefu_lly visited it and had a distinct and lively Idea of the scene of every minute action; but as we cannot know the Scamandrian plain but by going thro the Iliad with that view, his accuracy in this respect has been more talked of than pointed out. We could not expect it from his superficial readers, and those of real tast have been too much engaged by his great beauties to attend to his smaller ones, and could not so far forget the Poet as to consider the Iliad merely as a narrative of what passed at the seige of Troy during 53 days of the tenth and last Campaign, and it is so hard for a person who possesses any of Homer's fire to read him as meer Journalist, that to this only I can impute Mr Pope's Ignorance of the scene of action by which his Translation has so much suffered.

If under the direction of more patience and less fancy I can rescue Homer from the imputation of errors not his own, and bring more under the observation even of a cursory perusal of the Iliad it's surprizing consistency as to time

and place, it will be doing Justice to the Author and pleasure to his Admirers without offence to that respect which is due to the Memory of his Poetical translator. With this view let us observe the same method we followed in Palmyra and Balbec of giving things in their present and Antient state, leaving the reader to Judge upon what Authority we build the latter, I hope in this case there will appear no difference between the Antient and modern map, but what the probable Alterations which may have happened in the face of this Country in 3000 years will account for.

July the 25th 1750 we anchored under the Sigaean Promontory in our return for Constantinople, and going ashore at the mouth of Scamander were informed that the Country, which is often infested with Banditti, was then so quiet that we might with great security travel to the source of that river, upon which, having hired guides and horses and brought ashore our tent, Servants and Provisions necesaary, we performed in a fortnight the Journey which I have traced on the map to shew the reader at once the order of our discoveries without troubling him with the tedious formality of a Journal.

It not only appears evident that Homer had very carefully visited the Ground which we have described, but I think it highly probable that he took the opportunity of collecting at the same time many usefull anecdotes relating to the seige from the descendants of Aeneas, who I suppose, in his time, inhabited this spot.

This opinion, which would have been a sort of heresy as well as high treason at Rome in the days of Augustus, is now become a matter of indifferent speculation and we may without offence consider it as such, adding some remarks with regard to Virgil's conduct under this difficulty.

Aeneas, a distant relation and no favorite of Priam, by extraordinary fortune survives all the children of that Prince, and from a state of dependance and disgrace, becomes heir to a very fine Country, but whimsically abandons the certain and Peacable possession of his right for the precarious and dangerous pursuit of the property of others.

Whatever Virgil's real opinion of his Hero was, he thought it so natural that his Enemies should consider him in this light, that he makes them hold a language implying both the Absurdity & Injustice of such conduct which he constantly resolves into a submission to the divine Will, ever the rule of his minutest actions, through the Poem, Auguriis agimur divum, is the account he gives of leaving his own Country, and Pritty much the same Apology is made to Latinus for desiring a Settlement in his, both answering with great propriety the grand purpose of the Poet, who insinuating to a superstitious people a favourable Idea of a late change of Government, takes the artfull way of establishing it's Credit by connecting the Interests of the Civil and Religious constitution, and with that view marks strongly in his Hero's Character all pious duties, particularly resignation. Our present inquiry affects in no manner the Poet's Judgment ~~in~~ in the choice of his subject, the Credit of which ~~was not~~

was not merely founded in popular prejudice or the Emperor's vanity; he had the sanction of their own History for 200 years backwards for a very happy subject of compliment to his Prince and Countrymen, and at the same time that the voyage of Aeneas was sufficiently believed at Rome, the Circumstances of it were involved in a convenient degree of obscurity and contradiction which left the Poet more at liberty in the Choice of his materials. Had ~~the~~ the actions of Aeneas been handed down upon indisputable record we should probably have had no Aeneid, a loss which true History would scarce have paid for.

However, the absurdity and extravagance of such a Voyage is not alone sufficient to disaprove it, especially if we recollect that such migrations were the fashionable madness of those ages. We find the great support of Our Opinion in the twentieth book of the Iliad.

To give this Testimony it's proper value, we should observe that the Poet's Authority has been preferred by some of the most sensible Men of Antiquity to that of professed Historians, and that it appears to be his constant conduct not to oppose facts or received Opinions without some view of particular Embellishments to his Poem; that the Posterity of Aeneas remaining in possession of the Troade seems a Circumstance of so indifferent a nature with regard to the Iliad, that the Poet could have no other temptation to put it upon record, but it's being a truth, or received as such, and lastly that to deceive

in this case would have been as difficult as useless, the fact being such as he would neither be mistaken in himself or impose upon others, neither a matter of Antiquity or Obscurity, but open to the examination of him and his Contemporary readers. We cannot then I think suppose that the Poet could thus wantonly prostitute his veracity and expose useless falshoods to the obvious and immediate conviction of every reader, when and where he wrote.

Virgil felt the importance of this passage; his management upon the occasion is worth Observation. We discover in it his respect for Homer's Authority in a most Artfull evasion of it. He inserts the very prophecy we have mentioned, putting the words of Neptune into the mouth of Apollo, and by changing only one syllable in a word he converts the strongest Authority against Aeneas's Voyage to Italy into a Testimony for it-

Hic Domus Aeneae ametis dominabitur oris. cunctis/5)

Et nati notorum & qui nascentur ab illis B.3 [14 98.[a]

There remains still a strong objection to Aeneas's Voyage; the Coloney he is supposed to have conducted retained no marks of their Trojan Origin either in their Religion, Language, Manners or Customs, or even in their Name, tho their Establishment in Italy was made by force.

The Romans would perhaps of all Nations be least sensible of this Objection, as no people was ever less biggotted to their own Customs, nor had more successfully experienced the good effects of adopting what was usefull among their conquered Enemies; yet so unaccountable a

neglect of their Mother Country and so singular and so probable a compliment to the Inhabitants of their new Conquest, could scarce escape even their notice. The Poet thought proper to screen this paradox from examination by recourse to the comon remedy in Poetical distress; a decree of Jupiter is produced, who ordains at the request of Juno that

> Th' Ausonians ever shall remain the same
> In customs, Garb, Religion and the name &c.

I should suppose the Authority of the Antients, confirmed by our own observations on the spott, sufficient to putt this matter past doubt, had not a very learned Man denyed with regard to Egypt and the Nile, what we here affirm, of the Troade & Scamander, & that upon Principles equally applicable to both. His opinion may be worth a short digression, which will be the more excusable as I hope it will include a vindication of Homer's Character as a Geographer in a Passage of the Odysse, where his best Friends have abandoned him as inexcusable.

In the account which Menelaus gives Telemachus of his adventures upon the Coast of Egypt and the situation of Pharos,

> Amidst the Wavy sea an Isle there is
> Opposite Nile, Pharos by name
> distant from thence what space a hollowship
> marks in One day with well fill'd sails,

Homer has been accused of a gross mistake in putting so great a distance between Egypt and an Island which was well known to be within half a mile of it's Capital in the time of the Ptolomy's and Romans.

Give me leave to Observe that the barren Coast of Alexandria upon which the Island Pharos was formerly situated made no part of Egypt in the time of Homer, nor has it been owing to the increase of the Delta that it is since become so. The Port of Alexandria was an obvious inlet to the Country, and for that reason Rhocetis was built here and garrisoned in the Antient Jealous Spirit of Egyptian Policy to exclude strangers where Alexandria was afterwards built for the contrary purpose of intercourse and Commerce.

This observation would I think in a great measure Justify Homer even had he placed Pharos a days sail from Egypt; but he is misrepresented, for

Tho the name of Nile might have been known to Homer (as we find it in Hesiod) yet it is certain that he makes use only of the name Eguptos to signify as well the River as the Country, and in the lines here quoted the distance mentioned of one days sail is expressly between Pharos and the river, the principal embouchure of which is placed by the most antient accounts ~~is~~ in the middle of the Delta, of course about 100 miles from Pharos, quite agreeable to the Poets account. I have made the Voyage of Menelaus, and comparing the account of it in the Odysse with my own observations, thought both the length and dangers of it perfectly Just.

But Bochart not only denys the Delta's acquiring any increase by the Nile, but asserts in general that the agitation of the sea must prevent any Rivers producing such an effect by dissipating the mud or other materials which the current may bring down & preventing it's accumalating so as to form Land.

It is surprizing how far the Commentators and translators of Homer have been governed by an indolent and servile submission to this Arbitrary decision so contrary to the experience of all ages. These (here note) are facts so undeniably attested by travellers and historians, that it is needless to oppose stronger testimony to meer hypothesis, which it seems Bochart was led into by injudiciously applying observations made upon the Coast of Alexandria, where the Nile has little or no influence, to the Delta and other Coasts where it so manifestly has.

Tho every reader must have observed with what Important variety to the Iliad it's business is carryed on by the Joint attention of Gods and Mortals, yet few seem to have considered the actions of his Divinitys as liable to the Mortal circumstances of time and place. We don't so curiously look for accuracy in meer fable, where we are apt carelessly to admire only the licentious beautys of a most luxuriant fancy broke lose and exulting in boundless liberty.

This Indulgence the Poet stands in no need of; in him we see exact bounds to poetical as well as historicall truth. I think I can see much more of the latter than is generally allowed in his writings, tho indeed he has so Judiciously Subjected both to certain general Laws of consistency that it is hard to say exactly with regard to his facts Where the Historian ends and the Poet begins.

But now I speak of the unquestionable child of Fancy, Poetry and Homer call'd his Machinary, in considering which I would recommend to the reader to set out with a precise Idea of the respective situations of Olympus, the Scamandrian plain, Troy & Mount Ida before he forms a Judgment of what we may call Homer's Celestial Geography. I think he will find it bear examination, and that if in the frequent shifting of the scenes between those places he has been hurryed from Heaven to Earth and from Earth to Heaven without seeing his road, it has been his own fault & not the Poets, who by his Judicious management of those plausible Minutiae gives even extravagance the specious dress of probability. He may also observe with what punctuality Mercury and Iris discharge their Duty and with propriety the station of each God is allotted to him either as Actor or spectator, Jove never appearing nearer the scene of Action than Mount Ida suitably to the dignity of the father of Gods and Men, while Inferior Dignities interfere, more promiscuously, even on the fields of battle.

Virgil's Machinary won't bear being considered in this light; his Gods make their appearance without our knowing so particularly how & from whence they come, and their introduction is more in the spirit of true Religion than true Poetry. His Admirers might perhaps Attribute this to his stoical Principles, but I should chuse neither to compliment his Judgement nor charge his Imagination with the defects of his scene of Action. Homer's great happyness in a Picturesque Country as well as a Poetical Religion has not been sufficiently attended to, nor do I know that it has been at all observed how much he and the old Poets owe the last advantage to the first. It was in Greece alone that the Religion of Egypt was successfully modelled to the purposes of Poetry and there only it produced that fancifull mythology, which no strength of Imagination could have effected in it's Mother Country, or improve in any other. The Classical traveller, who visits Egypt, Greece and Italy, keeping in his mind the former progress of superstition through the same Countries, will easily be convinced of this.

Homer thus possessed of the Geography as well as Religion of poetry which he so effectually established that his successors have been obliged, tho awkwardly enough to adopt both, and every spot round Troy being sacred either by the birth, habitation or adventures of Gods and Hero's, his Management in chusing and shifting so beautifull a scenary ready to his hand was a matter of less difficulty to him than to Virgil, whose grand scene of action not

having yet acquired any Classicall Reputation excluded him from all such advantage in the last six books of his Poem; his Gods are from Greece, his shepherds from Arcadia, and his swans from Cayster; if Diana dances it must be on the banks of Eurotas, & if &c;-

However while the Greek Poet has the advantage of the Roman, here, we must in Justice observe the allowed superiority of the latter in the most compleat system of Antient infernall Geography extant.

As Troy has been so much misplaced by travellers, the mistakes of those, who had not been on the spot, are not to be wondered at. I cannot perhaps better shew the use I intend by the subject in which I am ingaged than by observing how injurious to Homer this Inattention to his Geography has been even in his best friends and admirers. Lett us first shortly shew how his Catalogue has suffered by it, in which there is so much Poetry and at the same time so much Geographicall accuracy that I am not surprized Mr. Pope should be diffident of success in that part of his translation, in which he thought there were but two ways to please, Vizt. by rendering the versification very flowing and Musical and by making the whole appear as much a Landskip or piece of painting as possible. His success in both under the confinement of rhyme and a less harmonious language is a strong instance of his powers of numbers.

But tho the Translator did here all that could be done in English and in rhyme, yet we cannot look upon his catalogue with an Eye to antient Learning (to use his own words) and as the most valuable pieve of history and Geography left us of that early period of Greece. When every Epithet in Homer should be religiously preserved as a short description of the Country, Pope, by leaving out some, changing others and adding a great many, gives us a new map of his own, destroying by that means the very merit which he had pointed out himself to the reader:--

Graea and spacious mycallessus in the Original become by translation,

Graea near the main
& Mycallessus Ample piny plain.

The rhyme requires that Graea should be near the main in the first line and Mycallessus is obliged to the measure for her pine trees in the second.

The translator acknowledges the liberties he takes and says it is not without sufficient Authority from the Antients; but those Authorities only shew the state of Greece some hundred years after Homer's time; and loses all the value which the Map has a title to by it's antiquity, where the additional Epithet of the translator, tho from more modern Authorities are less changeable, the liberty is more pardonable as in

High Troezene and Nasetas plain
and fair Aegina circled by the Main

where the description though not Homer's, has probably always been and still continues to be true; but to meddle with the changeable circumstances of pasture tillage or Wine is less excusable, and when Pope says that those two places were famous,

for flocks Erythrae, Glissa for the Wine

and talks of those who plow the spacious Orchemenian plain, it is substituting the state of that Country in the time of Plutarch and Statius (his Authorities) to that of Homer, who only gives the names of those places.

Into what a florid profusion of finery does the translator spin out the single epithet of noble; given the Cephissus;-

From those rich regions where Cephissus leads
His silver Current through the flowery meads-

and with what additional ornament is the Peneus and leafy Pelion dress'd out in four lines,

where Pelion crown'd with piny boughs
obscures the Glade and nods his shaggy brows,
Or where thro flowery tempe Peneus stray'd
the regions stretched beneath his mighty shade.

Thus is indeed painting, but as little like Homer, as Watteau is to a Salvater Rosa; in short Rhaetor is green, Lilaea fair and Cynos rich, without any authority from the Original. Anemonia has her stately shivering turrets, Torphe her sylvan seals, Aetylus her low Wells, & Corynth her Imperial Towers from Pope not from Homer.

But it is still harder upon the poet to be made to contradict himself in English tho he does not in Greek, as where Ithaca is sometimes fair and sometimes barren & where in spight of the sandy Coast of Pylos in one place we have in another,

Alphaeus plenteous stream that yields
Increase of harvest to the Pylian fields,

Our English Homer is yet more inaccurate in his map of Troy where I should point out and correct his mistakes, were it possible; but when we observe that the Map prefixed to the translation places the imborchora of the Scamander in the Aegean Sea, the vanity of such an attempt at once appears as so gross a mistake in the first principles as must necessarily mislead the whole.

I shall therefore only shew in an instance or two that Mr. Pope is as inconsistent with his Map as his map is with truth, and that by having no constant Idea of the scene of Action either true or false, he had led his Authbr into contradictions which no Imaginable disposition of the ground can account for.

Thus, when Mr. Pope supposes the Greeks had not passed the river before the beginning of the sixth book, but had fought on the side next the fleet, he takes away all probability from that episode in the third book where Priam and Helen see the Graecian leaders so distantly from the town wall as he described their persons.

But the Translator's mistake in representing differently the same spot in different parts of the poem is a more

excusable error than where his descriptions are contradictory in the compass of a few lines as in B.6. where in his picture of Achilles asleep we are shown

The great Achilles stretcht along the shore
where dash'd on rocks the broken billows roar,

tho in two lines after we are told that

Along the grass his languid members fall-----

and yet after all when he wakes we see him

starting from the sands.

Give this subject to a painter, Homer's sleeping Achilles makes a good piece; but how is the Translator's prevarication to be managed on Canvas; & what is to be done with the Hero's Rocky, Grassy, sandy Couch!

Thus while the Poet, by seizing only the most characterizing circumstances of the object he paints, leaves us in full possession of truth and reality, his translator overstudious of crowded Ornament either weakens the expression by too high finishing, or entirely destroys it by contradictory images. Of the last sort is his description of the sea in the Odysse, which in the compass of two lines is both the

foaming flood &
the level surface of the deep.

I should not have troubled you with the last example, had it ~~not~~ been my own, but I am glad to borrow it from a Critick of Candour and Mr Pope's friend as an apollogy for the Liberties I take with so great a man.

As for some contradictions which I meet with between the translator and notes it is but fair to consider them as the work of different persons negligently indeed put together. Hector&s eagerness to vindicate his brother's honour so happily expressed in the Originall B;3;6;II2 is thus made out between the translation and the note upon it- He stays not to reply to his brother but runs away with the challenge immediately,

with steps Majestically slow.

I shan't trouble you with several instances of the same sort which I could produce; it is disagreeable to dwell upon such little inadvertencies which I offer, not so much to condemn the translation as to Justify the Original, where tho probability may sometimes be offended, yet we never meet with that careless contradiction of circumstances which Poetry and history equally disclaim. The Poet who makes tripods walk &c, dont like Dacier bring the Greeks to Entrenchments not yet made, nor like Pope launch a Vessel already afloat.

Before I take leave of my subject allow me to observe that the same circumstances to which Homer owes so much his preeminence in Poetry Justly procured him considerable rank as a Philosopher; viz; that everything in him as a carefull copy from nature and real life; and to this it was that he owes the eloge of a Judicious antient who formed ~~formed~~ in him a more compleat and more Just system of morality than in Chrysippus or Crantor. I doubt much if any discoveries in phylosophy since Horace's time should

lessen the Authority of a Judgment which does so much honour to Homer and human Nature. It is with satisfaction that I observe in so great a Master of life, instead of the peevish caracetura's of ? recluse theory, such amiable sketches of the human heart as prevail even in the Iliad and much more in the Odysse; a shocking mixture, tis true, of folly & vice, and meet with, enough to put us out of humour with the Poet and ourselves, did he not impartially throw in a praedominant portion of the social virtues, by which I see and you feel the picture like.

However tedious this letter may appear, I own a partiality for the subject, which makes me finish it with regret and unwillingly take leave of Troy, Homer and you, consoling myself however with this reflection, that as long as our short lived labours continue the object of any curiosity, so long Troy, Balbec & Palmyra will inform posterity that Dawkins was my friend.

SYNOPSIS OF THE ESSAY ON HOMER

Part II. (C).

To the Reader.

The author acquaints the reader with the purpose of their Eastern voyage - "to visit one of the most celebrated scenes of ancient story, in order to compare their present appearance with the early classical ideas we had conceived of them; and particularly, that we proposed to read the Iliad and Odyssey in the countries where Achilles fought, where Ulysses travelled, and where Homer sung". Considering himself in some sort ac: :countable to the public and his friends for this part of the scheme, he determined to employ his first leisure to throwing together such observations as this enquiry had furnished, "con: :fining my first Essay of this kind to what concerns the Greek Poet".

The difficulties encountered were due not to a scarcity, but an exuberance of matter, "which crowds upon my choice too abundantly to admit of that contracted form in which I think it prudent to make an experiment of public taste, before I venture upon a work of more labour and extent. A review of Homer's scene of action leads naturally to the consideration of the times when he lived; and the nearer we approach to his country and age the more we find him accurate in his pictures of nature, and that every species of his extensive Imitation furnishes the greatest treasure of original truth to be found in any Poet, ancient or modern".

Having submitted the thoughts which occurred to him in travelling through those countries where Homer had formed his

conception of things to Dawkins, and received his approval, he started to prepare his sketch for the press ; but he was called to a station which fixed his attention for many years.

The present essay is to be confined to an enquiry into Homer's Mimetic Powers; "for, whether we consider him as Geo: :grapher, Traveller, Historian, or Chronologer, whether his Religion and Mythology, his Manners and Customs, or his Lan: :guage and Learning are before us; in these several views his Imitation alone is the great object of our attention." Homer's admirers may object that of all poets he stands least in need of this illustration, since his accuracy is too striking to require any comment. The author admits this, but argues that "he enters most into the spirit of the Copy, who is best ac: :quainted with the Original. If, therefore, we would do the Poet justice, we should approach, as near as possible, to the time and place, when and where, he wrote." This will be of special benefit in understanding the Odyssey which contains beauties more local than those of the Iliad, since it describes private domestic life. This may account for the assumed superiority of the Iliad, for the great tragic passions sur: :vive, and the superiority must still appear greater the further we are in time from the poet.

The author believes the supposed preference of the Ancients for the Iliad can be traced no higher than Longinus. "It is not extraordinary that a critic of his fire and imagination should prefer a pathetic drama to a moral story, and kindle at

passions which he had often felt, though indifferent to the representation of manners he never saw." The Odyssey as a picture of life must have been most generally relished by the age and country to which it was addressed, and if it contri: :buted less to the author's fame in later years it is because its minute representation of manners and landscape must find fewer modern judges in proportion to our ignorance of "the private characters, familiar occurrences, and domestic scenery of the heroic ages."

"I must confess I am a little surprised there should still be so large a field open for observation of this kind; and, particularly, that those who have affected to discover so per: :fect a system of morals and politics in Homer, should have bestowed so little consideration upon the character of the times for which this instruction was calculated. For, though the Poet's age, and that of his great critic, have never been properly distinguished by any author I have yet met with, I will venture to say, that they differed as much, with regard to their reigning virtues and vices, their state of police and degree of civilization, their modes and tastes, in short, the great business and leading pleasures of life, as we do in these respects from our Gothic ancestors in the days of Chivalry and Romance."

"I believe the truth is, that Homer's deep political and ethic plan has been carried much farther than he intended: his great merit, as an instructor of mankind, seems to be that

of having transmitted to us a faithful transcri pt, or, (which is, perhaps, more useful) a correct abstract of human nature, impartially exhibited under the circumstances which belonged to his period of society, as far as his experience and obser: :vation went."

The author expresses apprehension that the fate of the essay may convince him of a common error, that of mistaking a fondness for his subject for a knowledge of it; and promises to stand corrected, and to spare the public, if not himself, further trouble on this head. But he hopes that his partiality "to those romantic scenes of heroic action will meet with some indulgence, especially from those, who can imagine, and there: :fore, I hope, excuse that species of enthusiasm, which belongs to such a journey, performed in such society, where Homer being my guide, and Bouverie and Dawkins my fellow-travellers, the beauties of the first of poets were enjoyed in the company of the best of friends."

The reader is invited to compare the Survey of the Troade with the account he finds in the Iliad, when he will discover that "notwithstanding the great share which fancy has had in the composition, it contains in general a consistent narrative of military events, connected, and supported, by that due coincidence of the circumstances of time, and place, which History requires." This accuracy extends to other descriptions of every kind, and the author thinks that if his observations have any weight they will support the conclusion "that however

questionable Homer's superiority may be, in some respects, as a perfect model for composition, in the great province of Imitation he is the most original of all Poets, and the most constant and faithful copier after Nature."

The general order of the subject is proposed, but the reader must not expect strict method in this specimen:-
Conjectures on Homer's Country: His Travels, chiefly deduced from his Navigation and Geography: The first will lead to observations on his Winds, and the second "will introduce a review of that part of Mr. Pope's Translation, which relates to this matter; and each of these articles will give me an opportunity of vin: :dicating Homer from some unmerited imputations of Inaccuracy!' Homer's Religion and Mythology will follow, and having con : :sidered him as an Historian and Chronologer, a view will be taken of his Language and Learning: "and shall conclude with his pretensions as a Philosopher; confining myself however, in what I shall offer under these different heads, to what is con: :nected with my subject, and may serve to throw light upon his Original Genius."

Homer's Country.

The author in great measure is in agreement with the Ancients' opinion in respect to the place of Homer's birth and education: but he will try to learn from the poet himself "where his fancy began to open to the wide field of matter, which he so happily collected and arranged in that wonderful epic form, that still continues to hold the first rank among compositions of genius." He concludes that Homer was an Asiatic, probably an Ionian or Aeolian, and perhaps of Chios or Smyrna: for such a point of view is necessary to make probable certain geogra: :phical observations in Homer which are unintelligible under any other perspective. From his knowledge of the East the author defends Homer from charges of inaccuracy in his de: :scriptions.

Homer's Travels.

And First His Navigation.

If the above conjectures are true, Homer lived on an island or on the sea-coast. The Asiatic Greeks did not spread inland, but confined themselves to the shore, "looking towards their mother country with an attachment and respect unknown to later ages." "When the great objects of human pursuit, whether wealth, power, honours, or science, were not to be acquired at home, it is not reasonable to suppose, that a turn of mind like Homer's, should sit down contented with the poverty, ignorance, and inglorious insignificance of his native spot.

For though ambition or avarice might not, yet curiosity, which we cannot doubt his possessing in a great degree, would naturally draw him forth into the active scene. An impatient thirst after knowledge was in those days only to be satisfied by travel :ling. The tranquillity and security essentially necessary to studious retirement were unknown to that state, either of letters of government, at least in Greece. Homer therefore had only the great book of Nature to peruse, and was original from necessity, as well as by genius." From Homer's descript: :ions of sea-journeys and the type of ship used it is deduced that navigation in Homer's day was exclusively coastal; and the author again demonstrates from this circumstance the poet's invariable accuracy.

Homer's Winds.

Again the author, from personal observance from Homer's country of the winds which blow in that quarter, justi: :fies the poet.

Homer's Geography.

And Pope's Translation.

A remarkable resemblance is discovered between Homer's descriptionsand the present face of the country,"which would lead us to believe, what is not otherwise improbable, that agriculture is pretty much in the same neglected state, in that part of the world, at present, as it was in the time of the Poet." Homer's descriptions would not have stood the

same test of examination so well two thousand years ago, "in those days of elegance and refinement, when nature was probably decked out in a studied dress, unlike the elegant dishabille in which Homer and we found her." The author illustrates Homer's truth by contrast with some instances from "Mr. Pope's elegant translation", preferring to take these from this quarter, "to which the Iliad and Odyssey have the greatest obligations," since they will have more weight than if taken from others: "for though Madam Dacier comes nearest to the Poet's meaning, I believe it will be acknowledged, that of all the languages we know, in which Homer has hitherto appeared, it is im English alone that he continues to be a Poet." But certain inaccuracies are to be ascribed to Pope, not to Homer; for, "though it must be acknowledged, that Mr. Pope is the only translator, who has in a certain degree, kept alive that divine spirit of the Poet, which has almost expired in other hands; yet I cannot help thinking, that those who wish to be thoroughly acquainted either with the manners and characters of Homer's age, or the landscape and geography of his country, will be disappointed if they expect to find them in this translation. Had Mr. Pope preserved the first, viz. the manners and characters, Homer would have continued to speak Greek to most of his English readers. For, though the dis: :guise of several passages in a modern dress may sometimes proceed from his not being very conversant with ancient life and manners; yet he often purposely accommodates his author

to the ideas of those for whom he translates; substituting beauties of his own (as similar as he can bring them to the original) in the room of those which he despaired of making intelligible." The liberties of Pope have resulted in a new map of his own, and the requirements of his versification have led him "into a florid profusion of unmeaning ornament, in which the object is greatly disguised, if not totally lost." Examples are given, as: Homer's "grassy Pteleon" becomes

"And grassy Pteleon deck'd with cheerful greens,
The bow'rs of Ceres, and the sylvan scenes." - and

the single epithet, noble, given by Homer to the Cephissus is extended to a complete landscape --

"From those rich regions, where Cephissus leads
His silver current through the flow'ry meads."

"Pope, too, is as inconsistent with his own incorrect map, as both he and his map are with the real situation of the ground."

Description of Pharos and Alexandria.

The poet's description of Pharos as being a day's sail from Egypt justified.

Homer's Religion And Mythology.

"We cannot well take into consideration Homer's Religion and Mythology without some notice of his Allegory, which has opened so large a field for ancient and modern speculation. It would be needless to enter into the extravagant fancies and laboured conjectures by which the sense of the plainest passages in the Iliad and Odyssey has been

sacrificed to this allegorizing humour. Nothing can be more contrary to our idea of the character of his writings, and to that unbiassed attention to the simple forms of Nature, which we admire as his distinguishing excellence. I do not indeed think that those who read him with true relish, and not from affectation, run any risk of falling into such refinement. However, as great pains have been taken to trace the mysterious knowledge, which the Poet is supposed to conceal under this dark allegorical veil, up to his Egyptian education; and as a late ingenious Writer[1] has attempted to shew the extensive effects of the Poet's travelling from a country, where Nature governed, to one of settled rules and a digested Polity, it may be worth while to take the best view we can of the state of learning in Greece and Egypt in Homer's time, in order to see what foundation there is for this opinion." The author considers the question from the monuments which the Egyptians have left behind them of their taste and genius, and from the accounts of them given by other nations: and concludes that though Egypt was civilized when Greece was in a state of bar: :barity, it "never got beyond mediocrity, either in the arts of peace or war." The climate of Egypt, too, and its fertile soil which yielded food with little labour, are not favourable to genius. "Great efforts and happy exertions, either of mind or body, are not to be expected in a country where Nature has so well provided against hunger and cold, and where an uni: :versal sameness of soil, and a constant serenity of sky,

[1] See Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer. By T.Blackwell.

afford nothing to awake the fancy or rouse the passions. Compare this with the landscape of Greece, the varieties of her soil, and the vicissitude of her seasons; and we shall not think it extraordinary that the arts of life should be: :gin in one of those countries and be carried to perfection in the other." The high compliments so long paid to the supposed knowledge and wisdom of the Egyptians have not been so well founded as generally imagined.

"Having said thus much of the supposed nurse of that mysterious learning, which the Poet is said to have brought from Egypt, and wrapped up in allegory; let us bring the reader back to his true character as a Painter, and see if we cannot find marks of imitation even in his Religion and Mythology. I believe that a comparative view of the divine truths of his Theology, and the ingenious fictions of his Mythology, will shew that, as far as he was at liberty, he drew both systems from an accurate and comprehensive obser: :vation of Nature, under the direction of a fine imagination and a sound understanding.

"As to his Religion, it would be idle, indeed unfair, to introduce a few general observations which I shall offer on this head, by common-place exclamations against the gross extravagance of the heathen creed. For though we must ac: :knowledge that the general conduct of Homer's gods would even disgrace humanity; yet, when we consider the pure and sublime notions of the Divine Nature which so frequently

occur in his writings, it is but justice to such exalted sentiments of the Supreme Being, to pronounce them incom: :patible with the belief of those ridiculaus absurdities, which distinguish the opinions of the multitude from those of the Poet.

"He believed the unity, supremacy, omnipotence, and omniscience of the Divine Nature, Creator, and Disposer of all things: his power, wisdom, justice, mercy, and truth, are inculcated in various parts of the Iliad and Odyssey: the immortality of the soul, a future state, rewards and punishments, and most of the principles of sound divinity, are to be found in his writings.

"This looks much less like the religion of mystery, than of common sense; and those sublime but evident truths want not the illustrations of deep learning. They are ex: :perienced in the plain understanding of every thinking man, who looking abroad and consulting his own breast, as Homer did, compares what he sees with what he feels, and from the whole draws fair conclusions.

"Even his Mythology, considered with a view to his original character, will discover, if I be not mistaken, some original strokes of the Painter and of his country. It seems to constitute a very distinguishing difference between true and false religion; that while the evidence of the first is universal, of every country, and co-extensive with creation, the origin of the latter may be often traced to the local

prejudices of a particular soil and climate. Star worship was the native idolatry of a serene sky and desert plains, where the beauties of the heavens are as striking as the rest of the external face of Nature is dreary and lifeless. In vain should we look for Naiades, Dryades, Oriades, &c. among the divinities of a country without springs, rivers, trees, or mountains, and almost without vegetation. These were the natural acquisitions of superstition in her more northern progress.

"What share Homer had in dressing up and modelling the fables of the Heathen gods, can, at this time, be little more than a matter of mere conjecture; it would however be unreasonable to think, that they were of his own creation. I should rather suppose, that the liberties of poetical embellishment, which he may have taken with the popular creed of his time, were strongly engrafted upon vulgar traditional superstitions, which had already laid strong hold of the passions and prejudices of his countrymen; an advantage which so perfect a judge of human nature would be very cautious of forfeiting. For when the religion of poetry and that of the people were the same, any attempt of sudden innovation in such an establishment would have been a hazard: :ous experiment, which neither a good Citizen nor a good Poet would care to undertake. I shall therefore venture to conclude, that the part of the Poet's fiction which dis: :honours his Deities with the weakness and passions of

Human nature, was founded in popular legends and vulgar opinion, for which every good poet, from Homer to Shakes:peare, has thought proper to have great complaisance. Take from that original genius of our own country the popular belief in his ghosts and hobgoblins, his light fairies and his dapper elves, with other fanciful personages of the Gothic mythology; and you sap the true foundation of some of the most beautiful fictions that ever Poet's imagination produced."

Even in Homer's mythological scenery he does not depart from Nature: and "where his persons are most ideal, his scene is not less real: and that when his subject carries him beyond life, and his Divine agents, or (in the language of criticism) his machinery is introduced, the action is carried on with greater powers, no doubt, and upon a larger scale; but with the same attention to a just proportion, and generally in the same subordination to the invariable laws of time and place. This is a management, which, though it cannot entirely command assent, softens extravagance, and leads the Reader so insensibly to fancy reality in fiction, by rendering both conformable to the same general rules of possibility and consistence, that it is not easy to say where the Historian ends, or the Poet begins."

Homer's Manners.

The author discovered in his travels that the manners of the Iliad were still preserved in some parts of the East;

and he again emphasises the need of considering Homer in respect of his times and country: "for perhaps nothing has tended so much to injure the reputation of that extraordinary genius in the judgment of the present age, as his representat: :ion of customs and manners so very different from our own. Our polite neighbours the French seem to be most offended at certain pictures of primitive simplicity, so unlike those re: :fined modes of modern life in which they have taken the lead; and to this we may partly impute the rough treatment which our Poet received from about the end of the last, and the beginning of this, century." The author discusses the reason for the stability of Eastern manners, from Homer's time down to his day, and illustrates his arguments for the view that they have not changed, by an interesting description of the Arabs of the desert whom he studied on his travels, and touching on the survival of ancient Jewish customs. "However, as we found the manners of the Iliad still preserved in some parts of the East, may retaining, in a remarkable degree, that genuine cast of natural simplicity, which we admire in his works and the sacred books, it may not be improper to inquire, how such an invaria: :bility in the modes of life should be peculiar to that part of the world, before we examine how far this resemblance be: :tween such different periods extends."

The Arab is so fond of his desert that he is not easily tempted "to resign the roving pleasures of that unhoused free condition for the quiet, ease, security, of even luxuries, of regular society." And so any attempt at the introduction of

art, or agriculture or settled conditions is resisted. He holds them in contempt, priding himself in his poor tent, under the walls of cities; and despising tillage as a mean occupation, compared with his rambling pastoral life. "To do the subject justice it is necessary to take into consideration the manners of the sacred writers, which come so much nearer those of Arabia than Homer's, as they lived nearer that country, and as most of the scenes which they describe lie either in it or contiguous to it. As to the conformity of style and sentiment between those writers and the poet, it is no more than what we are to expect in just copies of the same original: nor does it seem at all necessary to account for the agreement from Homer's supposed knowledge of the Jewish learning through the Egyptian priests, as some ingenious men have too loosely conjectured." A detailed comparison of the Heroic, Patriarchal and Bedouin manners is to be postponed for a future journal of the author's travels: and at present he lays before the reader some of the most striking features of the resemblance, which he considers separately. - "The traveller who has time and opportunities of making observations on the manners and customs of those countries which I have visited in the East, will (1) be surprised to see how far dissimulation and diffidence are carried in that part of the world. He will (2) be shocked at the scenes of cruelty, violence, and injustice, which must necessarily fall within his notice, as he will (3) be charmed with the general spirit of hospitality, which prevails so much more there than in

Europe; he will (4) regret the loss of female society, and be disgusted at the licentious style of pleasantry, which takes place in its room. When he sees persons of the highest rank employed in the lowest domestic duties, he will (5) be offended at the meanness of such occupations: and as to the general turn of wit and humour, it will (6) appear either flat and insipid, or coarse and indelicate."

Homer An Historian.

"From what has already been said, Homer must stand unrivall: :ed as the Father of History: to him we owe the earliest account of Arts, Science, Manners, and Government; and without him no just ideas can be formed of the state and true character of primitive society." Some of the most discerning judges of antiquity preferred Homer's authority to that of professed judges of history. Living in the neighbourhood of Troy he had opportunity of collecting circumstantial accounts of the siege from those who were eye-witnesses, or from their descendants. The question of the accuracy of Homer and Virgil in recounting the Trojan story is decided in favour of the former.

Homer's Chronology.

"Homer's time is measured by the returns of the sun, moon, and seasons, of light and darkness, labour and rest; but we find no political distribution of it, no weeks, hours, or minutes, no allusion to dials, clepsydras, or any other mode of computation known before the invention of pendulums, the most

exact of all chronometers. His day is subdivided by the occupations which convenience had allotted to the different parts of it in rude society; a mode of computation taken more from Nature than Art, therefore more poetical than accurate." The same method as before is applied, of regarding the events of Homer's story from the standpoint of his country and his rough age: and his truth is again vindicated. A comparison is made with Virgil; not, however, in the spirit of those com: :mentators who think they cannot advance the reputation of the one but at the expense of the other; nor as a test of their merit. "I consider Homer and Virgil as the most perfect models that any age or country has yet produced; perhaps less different in their genius than their fortunes: for had Virgil written first I doubt not but Homer would have copied him. Indeed, the importance of mere priority, if properly considered, will appear much greater, than we are apt to imagine. Those who have observed how small a part of mankind think for themselves, how much our tastes are formed upon authority, and governed by habit, must see the advantage of getting into possession of universal, unbounded admiration." The author accounts for that chain of connected truth which is more observable in Homer than in Virgil from the different objects the poets had in view. "That it was their intention both to please and instruct is not to be doubted: but in what degree these different motives pre: :vailed in each of them, when they did not coincide, has been much disputed. We have been told that Homer's great object was

to make mankind, and particularly his countrymen, wiser and better; that the Iliad, in which he teaches the blessings of Order and Union, and the mischiefs of Ambition and Discord, is in this view address'd to the whole Greek Confederacy; and that in the Odyssey he lays down the principles of political prudence for the use of each particular state. We have also heard much of those secrets of Nature, and that Physical Philosophy, which he is supposed to have wrapped up in Allegory; of that fertility of imagination which could clothe the properties of elements, the qualifications of the mind, the virtues and vices, in forms and persons, and introduce them into actions, agreeable to the nature of the things they shadowed.[x]

"I could wish that those who think so highly of the mysterious wisdom of the ancients, and take so much pains to explain their dark mode of conveying knowledge, would tell us, by what method they acquired it. I can easily conceive a connection between Mystery and Falsehood or Ignorance; but I do not see what it has to do with Truth and Knowledge.

"When therefore I admit that one of these Poets had a deeper purpose than the other I differ totally from those who give it to Homer, and consider the Aeneid as more obvious, plain, and simple, than that of the Iliad or Odyssey. Nor can I help thinking (without offence to the Father of criticism) that the Greek Poet found great part of his moral in his fable; and did not, like Virgil, invent a fable for his moral. If therefore he only adorned the facts he took from history, they

[x] See Pope's Essay on Homer.

would naturally retain the same consistence in his compositions, which they had already acquired in the opinion of the world: for it is the nature of oral tradition, the only mode of re: :cording events then known, to magnify and embellish, rather than suppress or pervert truth. But Virgil, who intended a panegyric upon his Prince, and a compliment to his country, looked for a fable most suitable to that plan. And we cannot do justice to his invention without entering into the extent of his views, and the difficulties he had to encounter in carrying them into execution: for, while he copied Nature through Homer, he was to accommodate what he borrowed from both to the fortunes of Rome and the character of Augustus."

Homer's Language And Learning.

"It is much to be regretted that those who are in other respects so well qualified to throw light on this part of our subject, by not taking into their consideration the Poet's age and manners, have not conceived a just idea of the Genius and Character of his Language. Professed scholars and critics in the Greek tongue confine their observations principally to its state of perfection, without considering how long Homer lived before that period. They compliment him for having enriched his language with the different dialects of Greece; though the distinction of dialects can be only known to a cultivated, and, in some degree, settled state of language, as deviations from an acknowledged standard.--- They point out his Poetical Licences forgetting that in his time there were no compositions in Prose.-

They settle his pronounciation by an Alphabet which he did not know, and by characters he never saw.--- His Prosody, or musical expression, must have been soon corrupted; for it is remarkable that the old chaste Greek melody was lost in refine: :ment, before their other arts had acquired perfection. Could Homer have heard his Poems sung or recited, even at the Pana: :thenaen festival, I dare say he would have been offended at the elegance, perhaps the affectation, of the Attic dialect and articulation; not to mention the various changes to which Greek pronunciation has been and is daily exposed." The rise and progress of letters in Rome and Greece offer a remarkable con: :trast. In the former "her illiterate citizens loved liberty and their country, before they relished science, and discovered a taste for the arts of imitation." Composition in Greek were, on the other hand, being produced long before there was a settled language under the protection of one state: while the language was being enriched under the rival patronage of many small island states, which with their wonderful variety of land and water offered Homer much picturesque seenery.

"I cannot help considering those separated nurseries of the Greek language as a circumstance which most materially promoted its progress, by raising a competition, and secured its duration, by affording refuge and protection from the persecution and discouragement of any particular state; and I think we may venture to reckon the emulation and protection, which this produced, among the causes that contributed towards carrying

Literature in Greece to a degree of perfection which it never reached in any other country.

"We shall perhaps find that the particular period in this progress which fell to Homer's lot, though not the most ad: :vanced, was not, for that reason, the less adapted to the purposes of that original character now under our consideration: nor will it, upon examination, appear so extraordinary, while manners were rude, when arts were little cultivated, and before science was reduced to general principles, that then Poetry had acquired a greater degree of perfection than it has ever since attained.

"We have already seen, in our review of Homer's state of society, an uniformity of manners, previous to the distinction of rank and condition, which produced that noble simplicity of language unknown to polished ages. Though the venerable beauties of that antiquated style must, in some degree, strike every Reader; yet we cannot do it justice without looking back to the times it describes; it is only from a knowledge of those early times that we improve a relish of its beauties, and find an apology for its faults.

"As to the Poet's Learning, I must own that very different accounts are given of it, even by some of his best Commentators, and great pains have been taken to shew, not only that he was extensively acquainted with the arts both of use and elegance, but that he was knowing in the secrets of deep and abstruse science. This opinion has been both credited and supported

from the earliest times. And we find Plato, who admired Homer as a Poet, taking great pains to confute those who had con: :ceived so highly of his knowledge.

"I know of no authority to which we can appeal, in this case, of equal weight with Homer himself. It is principally from him that we have formed our ideas of that sameness in the pursuits and occupations of mankind in the Heroic ages, which is the genuine character of an early stage of society. Trades and Professions were as yet scarcely divided into separate classes; nor was that useful distribution of industry yet imagined, which makes labour light, gives perfection to art, and variety to manners. But then, as the business and pleasures of life were rude, simple, and confined, they lay more open to the Poet's observation: and as he painted what he saw, with so much truth, I fancy, we are too apt to think he knew much more than he painted.

"But I wonder that those who have conceived so highly of the Poet's science should not have attempted to settle a question which seems so necessary towards forming a just judgment on that head, viz. How far the use of Writing was known to Homer?

"We are not far removed from the age when great statesmen and profound politicians did not know their alphabet. I mention this undoubted fact to lessen the Reader's astonishment at any insinuation that Homer could neither read nor write. Nor will it appear altogether so paradoxical, if we consider how much the one is the work of genius, and the other of art. Poetry

is found in savage life; and, even there, is not without those magic powers over our passions which is the boasted character of its perfect state."

Going to Homer as his source the author advances many arguments for his contention:- In the comprehensive picture of civil society the poet has left us there is nothing that con: :veys an idea of letters or reading: the Iliad and Odyssey are apparently addressed to an audience: "all treaties, stipulations, and contracts were verbal, and enforced with signs only, and solemn allusions, and appeals to Heaven:" the preservation of the memory of those who deserved well of their country was effected by a mound of earth: even when a pillar was erected there is no mention of an inscription: Elpenor had an oar put over him to denote his occupation, but no writing: histories of ancient times were commemorated in verses and transmitted, and preserved in temples where the priests and priestesses chanted them to the people: there were also bards, whose sole province was to commemorate the great actions of their gods and heroes: their law was entrusted to verse, and adapted to measure and music:- and many other arguments. This must have entailed extraordinary powers of memory, not so remarkable, however, if we put ourselves back in Homer's time when History had no other resource: and what the travellers observed at Palmyra puts the matter to a much fairer trial: "nor can we, in this age of Dictionaries, and other technical aids to memory, judge what her use and powers were at a time when all a man

could know was what he could remember. To which we may add, that in a rude and unlettered state of society the memory is loaded with nothing that is either useless or unintelligible; whereas modern education employs us chiefly in getting by heart, while we are young, what we forget before we are old."

Mathematics were introduced late into Greece, and therefore Geography and Astronomy must have been unknown as Sciences to Homer: and when Ulysses launches his ship by means of the lever and inclined plane, "are we therefore to suppose that he knew the mechanical powers? or shall we not rather conclude, from his building that ship with a brazen hatchet, that the useful arts were still very imperfect in his time?"

"As to the Arts of Elegance, ... that Poetry had the precedence the Iliad and Odyssey sufficiently demonstrate; but, besides that testimony, we know from the best accounts of barbarous and savage nations, that the most successful efforts of genius in rude society are of this kind.

"If Homer's Music could be separated from his Poetry, which was always sung, and I believe generally accompanied with an instrument, it would claim the second place: but the extraordinary effects, which are recorded of this art in the earliest accounts of it, belonged to the united powers of Music and Poetry. Indeed all instruction, civil and religious, was wrapt up in Melody and Verse; and the Priest, who was a Lawgiver, was also a Poet and Musician. This is agreeable to that rude state of society which we have described, when

civilization was addressed more to the passions than the understanding, and men were to be first tamed in order to their being taught."

The author argues then that the arts of design, sculpture and painting, were in a very rudimentary state in Homer's time. Similarly with architecture; for, although the author does not say that "ornamented convenience or even magnificence of a certain kind was not yet introduced into buildings, ... we see no marks of that symmetry and proportion which afterwards distinguished the architecture of Greece from that of Egypt, in the Iliad and Odyssey; the Greek orders were not yet in: :vented; and Priam's palace,

Raised on arch'd columns of stupendous fame,

is of the Translator's building, whose ideas upon this occasion are borrowed from the magnificence of later ages."

To those who have highly extolled Homer's knowledge of medicine and anatomy because of his correct use of the learned terms, the author replies that the poet had no other words to express the parts of the human body than those, which were no terms of art in his day, and which have since been consecrated to a particular profession. Homer's knowledge of the art of war also was low, for his battles "exhibit a few distinct figures in the foreground; all the rest in unintelligible confusion."

From this short view of Homer's knowledge the author ven: :tures the opinion, "as a matter of conjecture (to more I do

not pretend, without a further investigation of this subject) that the art of Writing, though probably known to Greece when the Poet lived, was very little practised there; that all knowledge at that time was preserved by memory, and with that view committed to verse, till an aphhabet introduced the use of prose in composition."

The views of certain ancient writers are quoted in support of the supposition that Homer left no written record of his works. The credit of bringing them from Ionia into Greece, where they were known before only by scraps and detached pieces, is generally given to Lycurgus, and to several is attributed the merit of having reduced them to order. Whoever was res: :ponsible, there would have been no need for such a collection if Homer had left a complete copy. "If therefore the Spartan Lawgiver and the other personages committed to writing, and introduced into Greece, what had been before only sung by the Rhapsodists of Ionia, just as some curious fragments of ancient poetry have been lately collected in the northern parts of this island, their reduction to order in Greece was a work of taste and judgment: and those great names we have mentioned might claim the same merit in regard to Homer that the ingenious Editor of Fingal is entitled to from Ossian."

The author now goes on to discuss the advantages Homer employed because of this undeveloped state of his language, and the lack of learning in his time. (This part of the essay has little or nothing to do with the proper subject of "the original

genius of Homer," but is rather a general commentary on the superiority for poetic purposes of the language of "nature" over that of "art.")

"What we have offered on this head may seem injurious to the Poet, as it certainly robs him of a respectable part of his character which has been long acknowledged, and contra: :dicts that favourable opinion of his learning, which his admirers, ancient and modern, have taken so much pains to pro: :pagate. But let us, on the other hand, inquire whether he might not derive some advantages from this illiterate state of things, to compensate that loss.

"Perhaps one of the greatest was that of his having but one language to express all he knew. Nor was the particular period of that language, which fell to his lot, less advan: :tageous to him. For if we examine the rise and progress of language, with a view to its application and use, we shall find that the several stages of its advancement are not equally favourable to every display of genius; and that the useful Artist and the Philosopher will find their account in certain improvements which rather impede than forward the Poet's views. His business is entirely with Nature; and the language which belongs to imperfect arts, simple manners, and unlettered society, best suits his purpose.

If then Homer found the Greek language considerably ad: :vanced, without the assisbance of writing, its improvements (to which, no doubt, he contributed largely) being entirely

addressed to the ear, in a climate where conception is quick, and the organs of speech capable of nice articulation, it was of course formed to music and poetry, then closely united.

"When the sense was catched from the sound, and not deliberately collected from paper, simplicity and clearness were more necessary. Involved periods and an embarrassed style were not introduced till writing became more an art, and labour supplied the place of genius. The frequent repetition of entire passages (for which Homer is censured) was not only more natural, but less observable, therefore less offensive; action, tone and pronunciation were more essentially concerned in every composition of genius, and all poetry was dramatic; and so far might be ranked among the mimetic arts.....

"The language we bring into the world with us is not confined to the organs of speech; but it is made up of voice, countenance, and gesture. And had not our powers of articula: :tion, that distinguishing mark of our social constitution, suggested a more convenient mode of conveying our ideas, the simple tones of Nature, with the varieties of modulation, which are now assigned to the province of music, might have been applied to the purposes of common life, as we are told they are in some degree among the Chinese. Speaking and singing would differ little, as the original Greek words, which signify both, seem to imply; the human countenance would have not only retained but improved its natural powers of expression, which it is now the great business of education to suppress,

and the dumb language of gesticulation would have made a very significant part of conversation.

"Such is the language of Nature, without which there could be no language of Compact, the first supplying that communication of ideas which was absolutely necessary to establish the latter; though afterwards falling into disuse in proportion to the progress and improvement of what was gradually substituted in its stead. But, though banished in great measure from common use, it still retains its powers in the province of Poetry, where the most finished efforts of artificial language are but cold and languid circumlocution, compared with that passionate expression of Nature, which, incapable of misrepresentation, appeals directly to our feelings and finds the shortest road to the heart. It was to be found in every production of Genius, and in all poetry; that is to say, all composition was dramatic.

"It was therefore an advantage to the Father of Poetry, that he lived before the language of Compact and Art had so much prevailed over that of Nature and Truth."

The same early stage of artificial language was advan: :tageous to Homer, for before the birth of Science, and when Philosophy still used the language of common life, and known terms were not applied to new meanings, there was little ambiguity: and Homer, though the oldest, is the clearest and most intelligible of all ancient writers. "In his language had not yet acquired the refinements of a learned age, it

was for that reason not only more intelligible and clear, but also less open to pedantry and affectation." And, after touching on the poetical advantages of Homer's language - as, the particles: the "facility with which two or more words connect and join together, to the great improvement both of the sound and sense" - the author concludes his chapter, "Thus the simplicity, without meanness or indelicacy, of the Poet's language, rises out of the state of his manners. There could be no mean or indelicate expression where no mean or indelicate idea was to be conveyed. There could be no technical terms before the separation of arts from life, and of course no pedantry, and few abstract ideas before the birth of Philosophy; consequently, though there was less knowledge, there was likewise less obscurity. As he could change the form without changing the meaning of his words, and vary their sound without altering their sense, he was not tempted to sacrifice Truth and Nature to Harmony and Numbers."

Conclusion.

"If our conjectures with regard to the two leading circumstances of Homer's poetical life, viz. his Country and his Travels, founded upon the different ideas he seems to have conceived of men and things, under the various influences of those distinct relations, are at all plausible, considered separately, they will deserve additional credit under a comparative view; for as, on the one hand, the traveller discovers himself to be an Ionian, so, on the other, the

Ionian proves himself to be a traveller.

"But whether we view this Ionian traveller at home or abroad, whether we attend him in his contemplations on the external beauties of the creation, or follow him into the secret recesses of our own hearts, in either light we trace him by the most natural representations of every characteris: :ing circumstance of truth and reality.

"This original mode of composition, so essential to unity of time, place, action, and character, particularly in the Epic, where both the narrative and descriptive parts of an extensive plan, purposely avoiding the formality of historical and geographical order, are more exposed to incon: :sistence, has, I hope, in some degree been pointed out, by the foregoing loose and indigested observations.

"I shall therefore venture to conclude, that the more we consider the Poet's age, country, and travels, the more we discover that he took his scenery and landscape from nature, his manners and characters from life, his persons and facts (whether fabulous or historical) from tradition, and his passions and sentiments from experience of the operations of the human mind in others, compared with, and corrected by, his own feelings.

"As therefore every sketch of this great Master is an exact transcript of what he had either seen, heard, or felt, it is not extraordinary that the same compositions, which have ascertained beyond competition his poetical rank, should

not only have decided his superiority as a Geographer, and secured his credit as an Historian, but have procured respect to his Philosophical character, which Strabo would not suffer to be disputed. If an unbounded veneration for his works has carried his claim still higher, his amazing powers of original imitation furnish the only apology I can think of for such extravagance. I mean to say, that those who found Homer and Nature the same, are, so far, excusable in deriving the principles of all Science from the Iliad and Odyssey. Nature includes them all: her proportions are just and invariable; whoever paints her true, or any part of her, that is full of action, and applies that action to Times, Places, Persons, and their signs, will include those Propor: :tions and their Measures without intending it, almost with: :out knowlng it, but never without some perception of their propriety and truth.

"Such is that faithful mirror of life which one of the most competent judges of antiquity chose to consult for the rule of his conduct, rather than the abstract systems of speculative writers, unpractised in the world; a compliment, which if it does great honour to Homer, does no less justice to the human character.....

"Yet so far am I from subscribing to the wild pretensions of that refined criticism, which discovers not only the principles of all Arts and Science, but the most profound system of Ethics and Politics, in Homer, that I consider it

to have been of peculiar advantage to his original Genius that he was not diverted by any hypothesis from a free and impartial examination of things; and that, whatever his plan of Instruction, either moral or political, might have been (for to deny that he had any would be highly unreasonable), his choice of characters for that purpose never carried him beyond Nature, and his own experience of life.

"To this unbiassed investigation of the different powers of Nature, and the various springs of action, not as they are fancied in the Closet, transcribed from speculative Systems, and copied from books; but as they were seen exerted in real life, we owe the most correct history of human passions and affections that have ever yet been exhibited under one view; so impartially chequered with the good and bad qualities which enter, in various proportions, into the composition of every character, that he has not left us one compleat pattern of moral beauty or deformity.

"..... If, after all, the learned Reader finds this method too closely confined to pictures of real life for the Moral epic Plan, I beg he will consider that it was Homer's object to please as well as to instruct. And though he does not neglect the latter, I must own he seems to have the first principally in view. But, as I have already said, this should be put to the test of that state of Society, to which it was addressed; when barbarous manners, not prepared to receive either plans of Government or systems of Morals, wanted the

immediate softenings of Music and Poetry; and men were to be tamed before they were taught. It has been the great object of this Essay to carry the Reader to the Poet's Age and Country, before he forms a judgment of him. I will venture to say, that it has been much owing to a neglect of this consideration, that he has been so often complimented with beauties of which he was not conscious, and charged with faults which he never committed.

".....But I have already wandered from the humble duty of bearing testimony, as an eye-witness, to the Poet's veracity. If I endeavour to rescue him from errors, not his own, by bringing within the observation of a cursory perusal of his works their truth and consistence as to time, place, persons, and things; it is as a Traveller only, that I can hope to do him justice. I shall therefore resume that character, observing the same method in the description of the Troade that I followed in that of Palmyra and Balbeck; where, after a plain account of the appearance of things as we found them, I left the Reader to judge of our conjectures with regard to their ancient state."

INTRODUCTION. - THE ESSAY AND WOOD'S OTHER PUBLICATIONS.

Part III. (A).

Introduction. - The Essay and Wood's Other Publications.

The "Essay on the Original Genius of Homer remained, even in its final form of 1775, incomplete and fragmentary: yet, because of its incidence in that period of transition from the so-dalled "classical" to the so-called "romantic" school of poetry, it takes its place alongside other critical treatises of more or less importance in the development of English 18th century literature, and must be held to be Wood's chief publication.

The author died in 1771, before the Essay was generally known, and so achieved no fame in his lifetime by it: but his reputation had already been established by "The Ruins of Palmyra" and "The Ruins of Balbec." These works were the joint production of Wood and Dawkins from material collected on their tour. Wood was editor, and was respon: :sible for the "admirable essays" which served as descriptive prefaces.

Enough can be gleaned from various references to establish the fact that Wood stood high in the estimation of his contemporaries. He was the friend of Mason, the correspondent of the poet Gray. The former, referring to an ode he had sent to Gray for criticism, wrote,[1] "Let me have your strictures speedily, because I want to send it to Wood:" and to Gray Wood's opinion of "The Bard," which

1. Gray, T. - Correspondence. ed. Mitford. P. 130.

had just been published (1757), was of sufficient moment to be cited along with those of Lord Lyttleton and Shenstone - [1]"Lord Lyttleton and Mr. Shenstone admire me, but wish I had been a little clearer. Mr. (Palmyra) Wood owns himself disappointed in his expectations." In the [3]Mure Papers, also, Wood is mentioned alongside other eminent literary figures - "Mr. Mure's connexion, whether as friend or patron, was also extensive, comprising the names of Hutcheson, Robertson, Blair, John Home, Simson, Blacklock, "Palmyra" Wood, John Moore, &c."

From 1763 Wood was a member of the Society of Dilettanti which promoted archaeological research and did much to encourage an interest in Greek culture in England. Wood served on the Committee, and when the Society financed an expedition to the East under Chandler[4] he drew up the instructions under which the work was carried out. In 1769 the results of Chandler's labours were given to the public in "The Antiquities of Ionia," and[5] Wood wrote the Preface, which is distinguished by that same lucidity of style which characterised the Essay on Homer.[x]

[1]Gray, T. - Works. ed. Gosse. II 328.

[3]Mure Papers (Maitland Club). - Pt. II.p. 41.

[4]Soc. of Dilettanti. - Hist. Notices. p. 37.

[5]Chandler, R. - Travels in Asia Minor. Pref. p. xxiv.

[x]Cust, L. - Hist. of the Soc. of Dilettanti. p. 160. Wood was "the first director of the Society's archaelogical ventures."

The "Comparative View of the Antient and Present State of the Troade" included in the 1775 edition of the Essay received the usual share of praise and censure which greeted the several books on the same theme which appeared about this time: but no whisper of adverse criticism was heard concerning "Palmyra" and "Balbec."

These works owed their success partly to the vivid and accurate representation of ancient magnificence on plates prepared from the drawings of Borra. Wood himself observed "that descriptions of ruins, without accurate drawings, seldom preserve more of ther subject than its confusion," and referred his reader almost entirely to the plates, "where his information will be more full and circumstantial, as well as less tedious and confused, than could be conveyed by the happiest precision of language;" but the value of the works was undoubtedly enhanced by Wood's essays on the travellers' journeys and his remarks on Oriental customs.

The Monthly Review devoted several pages to 'Palmyra', ("this beautiful and elegant work"), and quoted practically in full the address of the publisher to the reader: and the same journal remarked of 'Balbec' and 'Palmyra': "Of all the Antiquities that have been communicated to the world; of all the remains of ancient monuments brought from the

6. The Monthly Review. IX. 439ff. XVIII. 59ff. LIII. 369ff.

East, none can be compared with the ruins of Palmyra and of Balbec; not only on account of their stupendous mag: :nificence, but for the extraordinary diligence of those gentlemen who have favoured the publick with their view of them, and the accuracy, and elegance of the designs. We are authorized in saying this much, by the unanimous consent of all the Literati in Eurppe."

Gibbon[7] wrote, "I am much better satisfied with Maundrell's slight octavo than with the pompous folio of Dr. Pocock; but every preceding account is eclipsed by the magnificent description and drawings of MM. Dawkins and Wood, who have transported into England the ruins of Palmyra and Baalbec." To Horace Walpole Balbec represented perfection in its kind.[8] "How I have wished this evening for Lord Bute! How I could preach to him! For myself, I do not want to be preached to - I have long considered how every Balbec must wait for the chance of a Mr. Wood:" and again,[9] "Of all the works (i.e. in architecture) that distinguish this age, none perhaps excell those beautiful editions of Balbec and Palmyra.... When I endeavour to do justice to the editions of Palmyra and Balbec, I would not confine the enconium to the sculptures; the books have

7. Gibbon. E. "Decline and Fall." VI. 316. note.

8. Walpole, H. Letters. V. 42.

9. Walpole. H. "Anecdotes of Painting in England." Preface. p. xiii.

far higher merit. The modest descriptions by Mr. Wood prefixed are standards of writing: The exact measure of what should and should not be said, and of what was necessary to be known, was never comprehended in more clear diction, or more elegant stile. The pomp of the buildings has not a nobler air than the simplicity of the narration. I must restrain myself; tho' it is pleasing to expatiate on the just praise of one's country; and they who cannot perform great things themselves, may yet have a satisfaction in doing justice to those who can."

The "Essay on Homer" met with a more mixed reception, as was natural from a generation well acquainted with Homer, and by whom anything ingenious but unsubstantiated was certain to be challenged. The process of evolution, also, which culminated in a different type of poetic theory and practice, was too gradual and natural to permit of Wood's thoughts creating any great sensation. In Germany the case was different, and because of the unique circumstances of the time German critics were eager to welcome any book of such a nature. Wood's new manner of commenting captured the imagination; his arguments went unquestioned; the Essay was hailed with enthusiasm, and Wood's thoughts on Homer as a poet unspoiled by example and unrestrained by convention effected a very noticeable modification on the attitude to Homer, and gave a consider:able impetus to that criticism which sought to find the fountain-head of poetry in nature, genius, originality.

THE ESSAY IN GERMANY.

Part III.(b).

German literature of the decade 1770-1780 affords perhaps the most amazing example in the history of letters of a whole nation seized with a passionate enthusiasm for liberty of thought, action and expression. The sterility and conventionality of the earlier half of the century had vanished in a wave of sincere feeling, and "the rules" and "imitation" had been replaced by an almost fanatical veneration for nature, genius and originality.

"We rushed about in many a by-path", Goethe wrote in his old age as he looked back on the stormy days of his youth, "and so from many sides also was that German literary revolution prepared of which we were witnesses, and in which we, consciously or unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly, continually co-operated". The "Sturm und Drang" of the seventies was indeed a movement of revolutionary ideas, suggested from many sources, and evidenced in many ways, chiefly in a tendency to indulge the emotions regardless of any restraint which tradition had hitherto imposed.

When the nation wept over Werther, fleeing from the town to the simplicity of Nature in the country, and acclaimed Ossian as equal to, and even greater than Homer,

this was not only an æxpression of its admiration, but a confession of the general longing towards the simpler and supposedly purer and manlier ages before civilization had laid its restraining hand on the free play of genius. The applause which greeted the production of Goethe's "Götz von Berlichingen" was indicative of the impatience of any restriction. Even traditional morality was not left unimpaired, and many a Stürmer und Dränger, striving after he hardly knew what, only intensely desiring liberty of self-expression, permitted himself unbounded licence, and finished his despairing history by suicide or in the gloom of a deranged mind. Learning as an aid to poetry was despised, and in some cases even the profession of author was irksome, since it necessitated the mechanical act of committing words to paper. Literature which had nothing to show but neatness of phrase and cleverness of expression had had its day. Now it required that glowing spark which, incapable of definition, was nevertheless unmistakable. "Divine Inspiration, the intoxication of Genius, is a justified faith".

This glorification of individuality is all the more remarkable, but also more comprehensible, in view of the subservience of German literature in the early 18th

century to the current mode in France and England. The beginnings Germany had made with Luther and Hans Sachs had been effectually obliterated by the continental wars; and when Germany towards the end of the 17th century was aroused from the intellectual lethargy which had possessed her for almost two hundred years she had no foundation on which to build a national literature. Latin was still read, it is true, but not in a spirit calculated to develop a literary taste. "The ancient literature came to be considered as a superfluity; neglected at school, it was regarded simply as a waste and barren field where the learned might burrow in quest of the facts required for building up the fabric of an encyclopaedic erudition".

Under the circumstances it was natural that Germany should turn first of all to her nearest neighbour France, and later to England, and that her literature should take on a strong tincture of the "correctness" of the prevailing fashion in those countries. The history of early 18th century German literature is in fact the history of a literature which was so slavish in its imitation of foreign models that it even reproduced the metres of Latin and Greek poets, and which, in theory, was dominated by the

classical "rules" as interpreted by French critics.

It was early perceived, however, that such imitation with the implied restriction must be at best an unprofitable exercise, and could not give adequate expression to the German genius, which differ essentially from that of France, and widely from that of England. These revolutionary ideas, conceived in German heads, but only dimly apprehended, received their fructifying stimulus from abroad, and chiefly from England. The Germans went to school again, and proved apt scholars. They read avidly anything which promised relief from their bonds; and hence the vogue of such works as Lowth's 'De sacra poesi Hebraeorum', Edward Young's 'On Original Composition', and various critical treatises on Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton.

The increased popularity of the last three was due to the circumstance that they were "national" poets - that is, poets who gave expression to the genius of their countrymen by admitting into their poetry vulgar superstitions and popular prejudices. These "national" poets displaced Pope and the school he represented in the Germans' estimation, and since they were distinguished by dignity and fire and spacious imagination they contributed greatly to the advancement

of letters in Germany.

Equally important were the critical essays (for German 18th century literature affords the uncommon spectacle of critical theory preceding and largely dictating the way to poetic practice), under the frequent stimulation of which the denunciation of "the rules" and "imitation" became ever fiercer, and the clamour for originality and genius and nature ever louder, until the emancipation of Germany was completed in the Sturm und Drang. As in the beginning the dominance of the "classical" mode had been greater than in England, so was the reaction more violent.

It was in 1770, the very year which is conveniently taken to mark the beginning of the Sturm und Drang, that Wood's Essay became known in Germany. In this age of intellectual turmoil, when the past had been discarded and the future was not yet clearly defined, except in so far that it must exercise no restraint on the promptings of genius, the title alone was sufficient to secure the Essay attention.

There were, however, two other circumstances which contributed to the success of the work, which must be regarded as one of the most stimulating of the century,

second only, perhaps, to Edward Young's "On Original Composition" in its wide-spreading influence. The English edition of 1769 had the good fortune to be reviewed by Professor Heyne of Göttingen, recognised as the foremost Humanist of the day; and the almost inspired notice he gave of the book created an impatient desire to see it years before it was actually translated. Because of the particular stage, also, which Homeric study had reached when the Essay became known, Wood's thoughts and his unique method of commentary came as a revelation of the truth of theories with which the whole of literary Germany had been busied for many years. These theories, it must be noted, extended to literature in general, for in the period of transition from "imitation" to "nature" and "originality" Homeric criticism played a significant part, and was one of the chief sources from which the emancipation of German letters sprang.

As in England Homer was recognised from the beginning as the greatest poet: but the Homer thus honoured was the poet known through the translations of Madame Dacier and Pope, since few Germans could read him in Greek. As the light of the "classicists" grew dim the attitude to Homer altered in sympathy. But Homeric criticism did more

than keep pace with the times. There were several treatises and dissertations which directly or indirectly gave direction and definition to tendencies already present. These contributed positively to a new theory and practice in poetry, for the example of the acknowledged master was always of moment in the search for the true fountain-head of poetic excellence. Of these treatises the first was by Thomas Blackwell, Professor of Greek in Aberdeen; the last up to the Sturm und Drang, and easily the most significant, was Wood's Essay on Homer.

Blackwell's "An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer" (1st edition 1735) introduced a new viewpoint. Proceeding from the Horatian principle that the greatest genius cannot develop without culture and the finest culture without natural talent is of no avail, Blackwell put the question, "What combination of favourable circumstances made it possible for Homer, an itinerant, blind bard, to achieve an excellence in epic which has not been approached since in two thousand seven hundred years and which, as far as we know, had never previously been excelled" ? Blackwell pointed to the glorious country of Ionia, to the variety of scenes and adventures afforded in the quick alternations between war and peace,

and to the age in which Homer lived, a time of transition from barbarity to culture, when manners were simple and, neither wholly barbarous nor chastened by the civilization of a settled state, were as a book for the poet to read. His carefree wandering life with its manifold variety and diversion gave him an uncommonly mobile imagination, which, since the poems were not read from a text but prepared beforehand for recitation to an audience, could in its most glowing moments find expression in impromptu utterance. Even then Homer never departed from Nature. "Homer took his plan from Nature: He has followed her closely in every step: He has related Actions and Passions of every kind: He has painted Places, Persons, Animals and Seasons, with their proper Marks and Qualities. He has done this with a constant view to the Effects which these things produce; both as they strike upon the human Mind, and do good or ill in human Affairs. By this means he gives us back our own Sentiments on every Accident in Life, and paints the Impressions we receive from the other parts of the Universe. He became an allowed Master in Morals, and is suspected of Mystery and hidden Meanings in the several Branches of natural Knowledge". (p. 325).

From Blackwell onwards (although his Enquiry,

despite its several editions, was not translated until 1776, and consequently had only a limited circle of readers), the conception of Homer as a poet of Nature gained ground, and the inquiry into the quality which made him supreme in poetry became keener. Blackwell had retained the orthodox view of Homer's learning and moral intention, and, although he distinctly inclined to write as little as possible of conscious poetical art in Homer, he meant little more, when he described the poet as having followed Nature, than that his descriptions were uncommonly truthful.

It is Blackwell's merit that he stimulated inquiry, however tentative his suggestions were. Already in 1740 there was an extension of his view in Breitinger's "Über Neuheit der Gleichnisbilder".[1] Here Breitinger declared that Homer was an 'Original_geist' (original mind, spirit), who produced his works, the pattern of all past and present, without a precursor; and, probably as a polemic against Blackwell, whom he knew, Breitinger strongly emphasised that Homer owed everything to himself and his tremendous curiosity. It is worthy of remark that the works of Homer were still regarded as patterns; but the time was not far distant when the inquiry was directed towards discovering the secret which enabled Homer to give

1) Finsler. Homer in der Neuzeit. p. 403.

expression to his genius, that the Germans might drink at the same source of inspiration, and so give expression to theirs.

The trend of critical opinion which was ultimately to ascribe Homer's excellence to his freedom from the restraints of artificiality and convention of more cultured ages is evident from the remarks of Hamann, the "Magus of the North". [2] In 1759 he read the Odyssey, and received therefrom a new illumination on poetry. He recognised the limitations of Bodmer and Klopstock, and wrote that they had studied Homer, but had understood to imitate him only in detail. By Nature alone could the works of the ancients be explained; and who studied the Ancients without knowing Nature read commentaries without the text.

Hamann realised that rules were all very well, but that there is something "more immediate, more intimate, obscurer, but more certain" than the Rule. This was written in 1761, but he had already recognised it in 1759 in the case of Homer. What Blackwell had observed with frequent appeal to the Ancients, Hamann reiterated with sure intuition. Blackwell had written that in Homer's time speech was full of metaphors, and these of the boldest; and the rule of Poetics

2) Ibid. 428.

- to speak in metaphors - was originally the nature of speech. A refined language was unsuited to a great poet: for the smoothness of the style robs us of many of the most significant words and most forceful and beautiful expressions. And Hamann, in his 'Aesthetica in nuce' - ("a rhapsody of caballistic prose") - wrote, "Poetry is the mother speech of the human race; as garden is older than plough-land, painting than writing, song than declamation, pictures (metaphors, Gleichnisse) than conclusions, barter than trade": and, "A deeper sleep was the rest of our ancestors, and their movement a tumbling dance. Seven days they sat in the silence of contemplation or amazement; - and opened their mouths to winged words. Senses and passions understand nothing but pictures". How far already from the fetish of "correctness" and refinement and polish, when the way was pointed to searchers for the true fount of poetry to the infant speech of man !

Young's Essay "On Original Composition", translated into German in 1760, had a tremendous vogue, and killed any lingering regard for the "classical" viewpoint. Homer again, as in almost every critical expression of opinion, was appealed to. Young remarked two kinds of imitation, one of Nature, the other of Authors. The first he distinguished by the name

of Original, and adduced reasons for its superiority over the other. Originals were few, not because the Ancients had a monopoly of genius, but because they "engross our attention, and so prevent a due inspection of ourselves, they prejudice our Judgment in favour of their abilities, and so lessen the sense of our own; and they intimidate us with the splendour of their Renown, and thus under Diffidence bury our strength. Nature's Impossibilities, and those of Diffidence, lie wide asunder.

"Let it not be suspected that I would weakly insinuate anything in favour of the Moderns, as compared with Antient Authors; no, I am lamenting their great Inferiority. But I think it is no necessary Inferiority . . . After all, the first Ancients had no merit in being Originals. They could not be Imitators. Modern Writers have a choice to make; and therefore have a Merit in their power. They may soar in the Regions of Liberty, or move in the soft letters of easy Imitation; and Imitation has as many plausible Reasons to urge, as Pleasure had to offer Hercules. Hercules made a choice of an Hero, and so became Immortal. . . Must we then, you say, not imitate antient Authors ? Imitate them, by all means; but imitate aright. He that imitates the divine Iliad does not imitate Homer; but he who takes the same method, which Homer took, for

arriving at a capacity of accomplishing a work so great. Tread in his steps to the sole Fountain of Immortality; drink where he drank, at the true Helicon, that is, at the breast of Nature: Imitate; but imitate not the Composition, but the Man. For may not this Paradox pass into a Maxim ? viz. 'The less we copy the renowned Ancients, we shall resemble them the more !' . . . Nor is is strange; for what, for the most part, mean we by Genius, but the Power of accomplishing great things without the means generally reputed necessary to that end! A Genius differs from a good understanding as a Magician from an good Architect; that raises his structure by means invisible: This by the skilful use of common tools. Hence Genius has ever been supposed to partake of something Divine . . .

"Johnson, in the serious drama, is as much an Imitator, as Shakespeare is an Original. He was very learned, as Samson was very strong, to his own hurt: Blind to the nature of Tragedy, he pulled down all antiquity on his head, and buried himself under it; we see nothing of Johnson, nor indeed, of his admired (but also murdered) Antients; for what shone in the Historian is a cloud on the Poet; and Cataline might have been a good play, if Salust had never writ. .,. . Who knows if Shakespeare might not have thought less, if he had read more ? Who

knows if he might not have laboured under the load of Johnson's learning, as Enceladus under Aetna? This mighty Genius, indeed, thro' the most mountainous oppression would have breathed out some of his inextinguishable fire; yet, possibly, he might not have risen up into that giant, that much more than common man, at which we now gaze with amazement and delight".

With the publication of the essay "On Original Composition" the light of Pope was extinguished, and the fame of Virgil, an imitator, was at an end, and there was to be no more copying of traditional models with "common tools", however good the workmanship might be. The "Drang nach Natur" became irresistable: and with the appearance of Macpherson's Ossian the movement gained in impetus. "These poems of an original genius suddenly reappearing from the oblivion of centuries made immediately an almost incredible impression on all aesthetically educated minds of Europe" - and especially of Germany. The poems of Ossian did not originate any new theory, but achieved their popularity because they came as a realisation of the views which had replaced the old "classicism". Here was an "original" and "national" poet as well, for Ossian had no predecessors, no tradition on which to build, and his only impressions were received from the simple life

around him, and from the rugged mountains of his native land. He sang spontaneously in a language of natural power and grandeur, unspoiled by the usages of polite society.

From the appearance of Ossian a parallelisation with Homer was common. It was believed that they agreed fairly well as to time and customs, both had existed in an age of unadvanced culture, both were distinguished by dignity and fire of imagination, and both were original. With this comparison the attitude to Homer underwent its greatest modification. He was regarded as a poet of Nature in a quite different sense from Blackwell's, and in their efforts to bring him into accord with Ossian and the prevailing opinions on poetry the Germans "were inclined to give greater weight to details of the Homeric tradition which apparently agreed with Ossian". At all costs he had to be the "Magician" of Young, possessed of that inexplicable power of creation which was independent of the common tools of ordinary men. "Not correctness is the touchstone, but fullness and richness, not rules, but genius. . . Poetry is only that which is the work of poetic genius, nothing else deserves the name. Ben Jonson, Corneille, Virgil had great minds (waren grosse Köpfe), made masterpieces, and had no

genius. Shakespeare, a genius, seldom made masterpieces".

The "Essay on the Original Genius of Homer", reviewed in 1770 and translated in 1773 when the cry for Nature, Genius and Originality was at its loudest, provided the last link in the chain of circumstances which led up to the Sturm und Drang, and in the special case of Homer to the attempt to approximate the Homeric poems as closely as possible to the latest ideas on poetry. Wood's thoughts shed a new and brilliant light on an old subject, and his method of commentary was novel and entrancing. The Iliad and Odysseg were a faithful representation of Greek Nature and of Homer's age; for what the commentator had seen with his own eyes agreed with the descriptions of Homer, who therefore must have seen it also. "This was something new and great, and one can easily conceive how mightily it must have worked, when men had the Homeric world visible before them, cleansed from all the dust which the centuries had laid over it. Not from books, but in person, the old Bard stepped into the new times".

Wood's method of treating his subject did indeed grip the imagination powerfully, and carried conviction wherever the book was read.[3] "This book, if any did,"

3) Heeren, A.H.L. - Christian Gottlob Heyne. pp. 210-11.

Heyne's biographer wrote, "influenced Heyne mightily. Heyne received it shortly after it appeared in England, and the almost inspired notice he gave it will always remain important, not only in the history of his Homeric studies, but of his mind generally. Wood had himself been in the Orient; hand wandered and observed where the poet had lived and sung, where Achilles and Hector fought, where Ulysses travelled; had studied the district and the peoples and their customs; and, at home in the Homeric world, wrote his work. This was truly a different way to comment than was to be found in the language-notes of critics and philologists. Wonderfully Heyne felt himself attracted; much which he had previously only suspected became suddenly clear to him. But a new world of inquiry was opened to him at the same time. Only one such example was required to teach him what it means, and what it requires, to read an old poet in the spirit of his time and his people ! . . . I doubt whether anything else caused such a revolution in Heyne's opinion and study of Greek antiquity as this work of the Briton".

The enthusiasm Heyne felt was conveyed to his review. "I know of no one who has penetrated so deeply in to the spirit of Homer. The Essay is based to a certain extent on the Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer,

or this work may have aroused the first thoughts. But in the present Essay we quite lose sight of the other; it is the eagle-flight of a genius, who spies out the track of a genius from ancient times . . . It has often been said, but as yet little followed, that we must read Homer as a poet from quite another age than ours. Human society in its political, civil and domestic constitution had in Ionia not long, and in some districts of Greece only recently, emerged from a rude state of Nature, and had only made its first advance towards culture. Who knows no other people than his countrymen, us Europeans, must not read Homer, or at least not judge him. From descriptions of travels and lands of barbarians (Wilde, wilde peoples) and other peoples, who still live in an uneducated society under an undeveloped constitution, we learn most about Homer". And[4] Herder, driving home his favourite theory that "the wilder, that is the livelier a people is, the livelier, freer, more lyrical must its songs be", told how the full significance of the songs of wild nations was borne in upon him as he made his adventurous journey from Riga, on board ship, away from the tumult of the town and without books. Alone with the elements he read Ossian and the stories of the Skalds, "passing the

4) Von Deutscher Art und Kunst, 1773.
Herder-Sämmtl. Werke, ed. Suphan. V. 169.

sand-land, where once the Skalds and Vikings with sword and song traversed the sea in their steeds that girdle the earth (ships), now at a distance from the coasts where Fingal's deeds were done, and Ossian's songs sang melancholy, under the breathing of the air, in the world, in the quietness - believe me, there the Skalds and Bards can be read differently than near the lectern of the professor:- Wood with his Homer on the ruins of Troy, and the Argonauts, Odysseys and Lusiads under the bellying sail, by the rattling helm".

Heyne's review immediately procured Wood's thoughts on Homer a certain currency, as is apparent from a remark of Goethe's Werther under the date 17th May, 1771: "I met a young man just come from the academies, who thinks himself not exactly wise, but yet believes he knows more than others. When he heard that I drew much and knew Greek, he turned to me and displayed much knowledge, from Batteux to Wood, from da Piles to Winckelmann, and assured me he had read Sulzer's Theory, first part, right through".

The translation in 1773 came as[5] "no unpleasant gift to the public, since it has for a long time been expected, and up to the present this treasure of criticism

5) Michaelis, J.D. - Translation of Essay. Pref.

was not only inaccessible to the German reader, but to him who knew English, and to the Englishman himself:" and Wood's estimation of Homer as "the singer of pure, undisfigured Nature" (Heyne's phrase) was universally accepted by a nation which was not only willing to believe, but was literally gasping for such proof. The Essay was in fact a direct application of Young's thoughts to Homer. There was no reservation as in Blackwell and Blair in his treatise on Ossian. The analogy with Ossian was confirmed by the man who had been on the scene of Homeric story, and Homer's religion and mythology were nothing more nor less than the faith and superstition of his countrymen, "original" subjects fit for poetry, as every poet from Homer to Shakespeare had recognised. That Homer was a genius had never been doubted; that his work was an "original composition" in Young's sense, since he studied only the Book of Nature and Man, was what Wood proved to the entire satisfaction of the age. When sedate scholars such as Heyne went into raptures over the Essay it is to be supposed that to the ardent youths of the Sturm und Drang it must have come as something in the nature of a divine revelation. This is not at all strange under the circumstances, and we can subscribe to the words of a classical scholar when he

writes of Heyne's verdict,[6] "How strange it is in itself, and more so from the mouth of a Humanist of repute, but how characteristic of a time when men longed for escape from Europe's veneer of politeness and the pedantry of its social conditions to the dreamed-of innocence and simplicity of customs of rude children of Nature".

The Essay fully justified the expectations aroused by the review. No voice was raised in dissent to Wood's opinions, and only Herder expressed disappointment in one instance, which, however, was in marked contrast to his other utterances, and to the reliance he placed on Wood's authority in his critical treatises. Herder wrote to Hamann in 1773, "Have you read Wood ? He is a fine gentleman, and that is, I think, all". To Herder, who was well acquainted with Blackwell, and who had carried the latter's ideas so far as to declare in 1769 (in the second Kritisches Wäldchen) that there were no books in Homer's time, the element of surprise, at least in respect of the theory of writing, may have been lacking; and probably this accounts for his apparent lack of enthusiasm on first reading the book. That he valued the book more highly than

6) Volkmann, R. Geschichte und Kritik der Wolfschen Prolegomena. p. 27.

the words of his letter to Hamann would imply is self-evident from the passage already quoted from "Von Deutscher Art und Kunst". In the same year, 1773, (Gefundene Blätter, V. 264) he ranked the Essay among "the better pieces of criticism"; and in 1778 (Über die Wirkung der Dichtkunst, VIII. 343) in quoting his evidence for the view that among the Ancients of Greece and the East, and even among the wild northern peoples, poetry was of the greatest significance, Herder especially praised Wood as giving an insight into those far-removed times. "I shall particularly mention only Blackwell's "Enquiry", Wood's "Essay on Homer", and Blair's "Treatise on Ossian"; for the most of the later writers have drawn from these, although they may have found the seeds of their best observations in the Ancients themselves".[7]

7) In 1803, (Adastrea. XXIV. 228), Herder wrote, "Without damage to any excellent precursor it was principally Blackwell's "Enquiry" which awakened and promoted a new judgment on Homer. . . He translates us, so to speak, into the time of the bards, far removed from our artificial poetising. . . In comprehensive vision his treatise is far superior to another much, and too much, praised book, Robert Wood's "Essay on Homer."
It is again only in comparison with Blackwell that Wood's fame suffers; and this statement of Herder is a further, if retroverted, proof of the popularity of Wood's Essay.

To others who knew not Blackwell (and very few did know him, since he was only translated in 1776, when he had for years been superseded by Wood) the views of the Essay on Homer were entirely new and refreshing, even to the belief that Homer did not write. Herder's partial anticipation had not attained general currency; and in any case his assumption could not carry weight against Wood's cogent form of reasoning in support of a view of far wider compass. The reply of Hamann to Herder's note was typical of the general approbation. "I had laid Wood aside after running over the Preface, to keep him to read when opportunity offered. Your hint made me curious, and I have read half of him. I have found more disclosure of original genius in him than in the whole of Duff". There is no ambiguity in this utterance of the Magus.

On the mind of Goethe, the young Stürmer und Dränger, the Essay made a vivid and lasting impression, which was present even in late life when he wrote "Wahrheit und Dichtung", in which he recalled how he now beheld no longer in the Homeric story heroes grotesque and fantastic, but observed them with the clarity of the age to which they were real. Goethe's review in 1773 applauded Wood's

historical method, and insisted that a knowledge of Homer's age and country were essential to an understanding of his poems. Rules could not explain one who owed everything to Nature.[8] "Except the British none of the present European nations possesses the enthusiasm for the remains of antiquity which spares neither cost nor trouble, in order to restore them in their full splendour. If the French merchant Guys recently compared the ancient and more modern Greeks that was only a trifling entertainment compared with the merit which Wood has attained in respect of Homer. To penetrate into the genius of this poet-patriarch neither Aristotle nor Bossu can be of service to us. In vain would we therefore seek here the jumble of rules (Regelkram) which Blair has applied to the explanation of Ossian, and a lady to an apology for Shakespeare.[9] If we wish to admire the original Homer we must clearly convince ourselves of how he owed everything to himself and Mother Nature. Without the most exact knowledge of the times and the place where he sang, this will never be possible. We must learn

8) Die Frankfurter gelehrten Anzeigen. Goethe's Werke. Jubiläums Ausgabe. XXXVI. 15.

9) Guys - Histoire literaire de la Grece.
Blair - Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian. 1762.
Montagu (Elizabeth) - Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespear. 1769.

to know his times, since no monuments of these survive, from him himself, and his country from travels. . . The lack of a well-considered arrangement, many gaps and frequent references to a future, more comprehensive work, give the treatise an appearance of incompleteness. But these are the most precious fragments, which make us regret the loss of the chief work . . . With the most penetrating vision he pierces the mists of a time so distant to the true culture of the Homeric age, and teaches us to observe from the philosophical standpoint of the history of man. . . Even in such bold presumptions, in which the busy mind of the author loses itself, as those concerning Homer's native land, the chronology of the Homeric epoch and such-like, we must admire the thinker in him, if we cannot quite agree with him. Torn from the book it must seem a proud assertion when he says that the Ancients themselves did not study Homer in regard to time and place as they ought. But if we read the whole book we will grant that the critical observations of the Ancients on Homer which remain to us, really stand far below the prospects which Wood opens up. In honour of the Ancients we shall suppose that their best inquiries into Homer have been victims of the years".

In the seventies the enthusiasm for Homer reached its climax, and to many a Stürmer und Dränger, Nature, Genius and Homer were identical conceptions destined to free the world from the fetters of convention. Ossian had familiarised them with the possibility of the preservation of epic poetry by oral transmission, and Wood supplied conclusive proof. But his theory of writing must be regarded as a side-issue in comparison with his other contribution. From the translation of the Essay in 1773 there was no more effort to explain Homer by the traditional methods of criticism, by the "Schulweisheit" of scholars. Wood had taught them to regard Homer exclusively from the side of Nature; that his poems were the immediate expression of the thoughts and imagination of a genius who owed nothing to art. The Stürmer und Dränger saw in Homer, the admired of all ages, the perfect fulfilment of their opinions on poetry. The case for the new ideas was complete.

Immediately after publication the Essay was read in the widest circles, and a glance at the discussions which followed indicate how completely Wood's line of argument was adopted.[10] Johann Bernhard Mérian in 1773,

10) From Finsler, p. 439.

in an Essay submitted to the Berlin Academy, denied as others did the influence of learning (Wissenschaft) on poetry, and, proceeding from the point that heavenly inspiration was a justified belief, wrote that whoever ascribes a human origin to poetry seeks it in the heart of man. The wonderful in the oldest times sprang immediately from observation of the whole of Nature. . . With the Greeks the earliest poems were written up late, or have been lost, or those which have been reported, never existed, and the tradition of them is fable. In Hebraic poetry the object produced the expression immediately. Kelts and Teutons were ignorant, but thoroughly poetic peoples. Ossian is an example of how high a genius can ascend without the help of learning. . . Homer himself probably did not know writing and lived in a half-civilized age, of which Mérian, undoubtedly guided by Wood, gave a terrifying description.

Another quotation will show how far the new method of criticism was exploited, and to what extent it could be driven even by professed Homeric scholars.[11] "Who weighs the character of the period in which Homer lived, will not be tempted to treasure him, in comparison

11) Adlung - Versuch einer Geschichte der Cultur des menschlichen Geschlechts. 1782. pp. 140-141.

with our stage of culture, above his true worth, as has happened more than once from exaggerated reverence. He sang a hundred years after the Trojan War, and at a time when Greece was actually still very rude and uncultured, but he sang in Ionia, which seems to have been a little more cultured than Greece; and yet everything in him breathes the still half-wild condition, the first childhood of civil society, where bodily strength is everything, and mental strength nothing. His Iliad, a knight-novel (Ritterroman) of the primitive world inwoven with coarse mythology, half-true history and half invention, can only be beautiful for us in so far as he is a true painter of beautiful Nature; and that he certainly is astonishingly in his rich power of imagination, especially since the extremely romantic district of his theatre of action supports him most strongly in this. His Gods and Heroes are cruel savages, who permit themselves every deed of violence and injustice, barbarians with no fine feelings of honour or decency. Love is still nothing but animal sensuality, and the expression of it plain filth, bravery insensate madness, and wisdom ignoble deceit. If we call him the father of history he is only so in so far as his poems are a faithful painting of the manners of his time; the father of poetry

he remains, for he has left us the first poetic works of any extent. But who would ever allow it to occur to him to make Homer a great scholar, the treasury of all knowledge, - him, in whose time there was neither knowledge nor learning in the far more educated Egypt ? Him, in whose time not even alphabetical writing was known in Asia Minor, and who himself could neither read nor write ? And one thing more, of which Wood himself, the faithful expositor of Homer, has not thought. In Homer everything, even the language, is a true picture of his totally uncultured age; but is his language not too new, too perfect for this age ?"

The stimulus which Wood's Essay had imparted to criticism did not cease with this new interpretation of the Homeric poems. Throughout the century the attitude to Homer had altered in conformity with opinions expressed in critical works, and the general trend of literary development; and now, having fulfilled all expectations as an original poet of Nature, he was to undergo a further modification consonant with the spirit of the age, and become in the criticism of Herder, a "folk-poet". At the beginning of the next century he was universally accepted as such, and the Iliad and Odyssey were dismembered into a series of separate "songs".

Herder, along with Lessing the most significant figure in the shaping of German literature prior to the Sturm und Drang, - the latter by the clarity of his reasoning and precision of style, the former by his championship of everything national, expressed in exstatic and imaginative prose - was from the first an avowed anti-classicist. In his earliest writings in 1766-67 (Fragmenta) he declared that Latin had always been the enemy of German, and that everything had been sacrificed to the accursed word "classical". German imitations of the classics were failures. It was impossible to mention Homer and Bodmer in the same breath; Gesner with his Idylls fell far below Theocritus; and it was absurd to compare Anna Karschin with Sappho. What would the <u>real</u> Horace say if he were compelled to read such poets as Klotz, or the works of any of their Latin pedants ?

In his campaign against futile imitation which could never foster native genius Herder directed the thoughts of his countrymen to poetry as remote as possible in conception from the conventions of the 18th century, to the Skalds and Bards, to Ossian and Homer, and to the folk-song. Here, if at all, national poetry was to be found,

for the folk-song was as native to the soil as the singers themselves, the treasury of popular belief, in which was stored the doubts and fears, hopes and despairs, faith and superstition of the common people, without which poetry must remain for ever the monopoly of "study-scholars".

It is one of Herder's chief merits that he inoculated Germany with the folk-song, and if he attributed more virtue to it than might be warranted now, this does not detract from his fame, for his criticism served the most urgent requirements of his time. To Herder folk-belief preserved in song was the best illustration of the qualities of a people, and the spirit of the folk-song was the essence of all national literatures. He encouraged collection and collected himself; and declared loudly that from such fragments of mythology and superstition and legend, neglected in Germany, the finest flower of English literature sprang. Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton - all used the material ready to their hand, nor thought it too mean for their mighty genius.[12] "How much further would we be if we had used the popular opinions and legends as the British have used them, and our poetry

12) Von Ähnlichkeit der mittlern englischen und deutschen Dichtkunst, 1777. IX. 525-539.

were as completely built on them as in England Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare built on the beliefs of the people. How far below them stand our master-singers ! and where even these contain gold, who has collected them ? who wants to trouble himself about them ? And yet both nations are truly similar in these arteries of poetry, even to turns of phrase, rhymes, favourite measures and methods of presentation, as everyone must know who is acquainted with the stories of chivalry, ballads, legends of both peoples. . .And if we had collected our pieces ! How many would I have to name, from Sidney to Shenstone and Mallet, who have collected, praised and admired; from seeds of this kind the best lyrical, dramatic, epic poetry grew; and we - we over-filled, satiated, classical Germans - We ? - Let only songs be printed in Germany, as Ramsay and Percy among others have printed them, and hear what our elegant, classical art-critics say . . . And now, when we fancy ourselves on so high a peak of reverence by other peoples, now when the French, whom we have so long imitated, are, praise and thanks to God, imitating us and eating their own filth: now, when we have the good fortune that German courts are beginning to spell in German and to use a few German names - Heavens ! what people are we now ! Who

would still want to trouble himself about rude peoples, about their dregs of fairy-tales, prejudices, songs, rough speech: what a barbarian would he be ! he would come to sully our classical, syllable-counting literature, like a night-owl among the pretty, gaily-dressed singing birds ! - And yet it is for all eternity true that the part of literature which refers to the people must be popular, or it is classical air-bubble. And it is for all eternity true that if we have no people we have no public, no nation, no speech and no poetry which is ours, which lives and works in us. Then we write for ever for study - scholars and miserable reviewers, from whose mouths and stomach we get it back again, and make romances, odes, heroic poems, church and kitchen songs, which nobody understands, nobody wants, nobody feels. Our classical literature is a bird of Paradise, so bright, so pretty, all flight and soaring, and - without a foot on German earth".

"How different are other nations. What songs has, for example, Percy collected in his Reliques, which I did not dare submit to our cultured Germany. To us they would be intolerable, to those they were not. These

were once old national pieces, which the people sings, and sang, from wnich we therefore get to know the people's way of thought, its speech of emotion; just such a little song Shakespeare knew, and borrowed some lines from it. With gentle indulgence therefore we place ourselves back in the old times, and lower ourselves to the thought of the people, lie, listen, smile a little, rejoice with them and learn. Everywhere we see from what rude, small, despised seeds the glorious forest of their national literature has grown: from what marrow of the nation Spenser and Shakespeare sprang".

In the following year Herder reduced Homer to the same terms of criticism, and as was inevitable, quoted him as the final authority for his doctrines. In the preface to the second collection of folk-songs in 1779, in which Homer appears without qualification as a folk-poet, it is impossible not to hear echoes of Wood's voice: and indeed from the first work of Herder published after the Essay Herder's acquaintance with Wood is plainly to be observed.

Herder was the most enthusiastic exponent of Homer at a time when the whole of literary Germany implicated him in its literary theory. In 1767, under

the influence of Hamann, he saw in the poems of Homer the remains of the childhood of man, and wrote that with the growth of political life prose became possible, singing ceased, and poetry became a thing of art: and in 1769 he stated downrightly what Blackwell had only hinted, that in Homer's time there were no books. He was strengthened in this belief by the translation of Ossian in 1771, and expressed it again in a [13] "Correspondence on Ossian and the Songs of Ancient Peoples", which contains a panegyric on the poetry of uncivilized races, who in song exhibit a vitality and power and melody impossible among less free nations:- "Homer's Rhapsodies and Ossian's Songs were likewise impromptus, for of anything other than impromptus there was as yet no knowledge: the minstrels followed the latter, weakly and distantly it may be, but yet followed him, until at last art came and Nature was extinguished".

Whether or not considerations against a poet of Nature being also a writing poet weighed with Herder in forming his belief, it remains that the matter was practically decided for him before he knew Wood, although the latter was the first to state without modification, and support by critical argument his statement, that Homer could

13) Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker. 1772. Publ. 1773 in "Von Deutscher Art und Kunst. Vid. supra, - where Herder's acquaintance with Wood is already evident.

not write. How far Herder might have progressed independently must remain a question; but he would have required to have made Homer much more, or less, than a poet who lived when there were no books, in order to reduce him to the level of his beloved savages, and ultimately to make him a folk-poet. Even in Herder's mind the light of Homer had not dawned in its full brilliance; and in 1774 he was quick to seize on the currency which Wood's estimation of the low state of culture in the Homeric age had gained. In the part of his folksongs dealing with Nordic literature he wrote: [14] "Still songs ? and nothing but songs ? and of quite wild or half-wild peoples ? - - Listen before you condemn . . . That we know more peoples of the earth than the Ancients knew is an advantage of our time. And how have we got to know them also ? What have they or we lost meanwhile ? The knowledge itself is good which now begins to grow: the chart of mankind is enormously extended. What was geography among the Greeks and Romans ? and what is it now ?

" . . . In the few descriptions of travels which we possess the most interesting chapters for the student of mankind are 'On the thought and customs of the nation! on passion and pleasure ! on knowledge and speech ! ' mostly

14) Alte Volkslieder. Second part, fourth book - Nordische Lieder. XXV. 84-85.

touching on songs, and only on songs. Books, arts, cities, fabricated social thoughts they have not yet: and where their natural thought reveals itself, it could only be what God had given them: Speech, accent, movement, description, proportion, dance: and what alone united all these, - song.

" . . . We have received from a small region of earth, which we call enlightened, tests, patterns, masterpieces, rules of taste in almost all branches of literature, poetry and human education, which we follow to the exclusion of everything else. Very well ! for these regions of earth were really of fine culture and happy situation ! But also not very well, if we follow stupidly ! Authority for rule, the husk for the kernel. Not very well! if for nothing but tiresome art and imitation we forget the whole of Nature, from which that whole art, that example came! and forget the true form and strength of the patterns themselves, and become only beasts of burden which carry a holy image of the Virgin or Koran. Truly not well! if everything national, in which our strength and nature consists, is so completely wiped away and condemned that each one is ashamed to be what he is, and yet can not become what he is not. - It seems to me that we

shall find on the wild way which we pursue for many things powerful healing and antidote. The Greeks themselves were nothing other than half-savages (Halbwilde) when they reared the seed of their fairest blossoms. Who has read Homer with sound eyes will meet in him far less art than all his rhapsodists, commentators and interpreters have ascribed to him: noble, blooming Nature - as Ossian recently in his great model, and Wood in his rooting out of artificialities, have loudly preached".

In this work of Herder Homer was identified with the rude uncultured peoples of Nature, and his authority quoted as justification for these songs. The process thus started was carried a step further in 1777, when he spoke with flaming enthusiasm of England, which had built up her national literature on folk-belief preserved in song. Whatever form popular literature took throughout the ages - ballad, romance and folksong - it had the same effect on the people, and lived and worked in them: and so became the basis of all national literatures. Fairy-tale, legend, mythology, the ingredients of the songs of the Skalds, Bards, Troubadours, Minstrels and Mastersingers, were but evidences of the faith of the people, which

dreamed when it did not know, and believed what it could not see: these were its strength and its driving force, its religion and superstition, to which it cleaved with the whole strength of its uncultured soul. What mattered rules of Romans and Greeks to these people ? The rules of their song were inherent in it, and sprang from the nature of their subject. Wood taught him that with Homer it was the same. 15)

"The Greeks too, were once, if we so wish it, savages (Wilde), and even in the blossoms of their finest period there is more Nature than the blinking eye of the scholiasts and classicists finds. Recently Wood again showed it in the case of Homer: he sang from old legends (Sagen), and his hexameter was nothing but the song-measure of the Greek ballad (Romanze)."

From this recognition Homer took shape in Herder's mind, without qualification, as a folk-poet: and as such he appeared in 1779 in a collection of folk-songs, "The Voices of the Peoples in Song". In the Preface (written in 1778) Herder's acquaintance with Wood is even more plainly evident than hitherto. This préface made a more direct appeal to the Greeks for justification of these

15) Von Ähnlichkeit der mittlern englischen und deutschen Dichtkunst. IX. 534.

folk-songs of uncivilized, uncultured or unsophisticated peoples. The Greeks had been universally admired; the songs of rough nations were a modern discovery; but the manner of production was the same. We clearly hear the voice of Wood, who had written that Homer had seen and heard what he sang; that he did not write for the sake of the moral, which was inherent in his story; that his gods and godesses, far from being personifications of abstract qualities, were part of the religion and mythology engrafted on the minds of the people - beliefs which every great poet from Homer to Shakespeare had seen fit to use.

"What share Homer had in dressing up and modelling the fables of the Heathen gods, can, at this time, be little more than a matter of mere conjecture; it would however be unreasonable to think that they were of his own creation. I should rather suppose, that the liberties of poetical embellishment", Wood had written, "which he may have taken with the popular creed of his time, were strongly engrafted upon vulgar traditional superstitions, which had already laid strong hold of the passions and prejudices of his countrymen; an advantage which so perfect a judge of human nature would be very cautious of forfeiting. For when the religion of poetry and that of the people were

the same, any attempt of sudden innovation in such an establishment would have been a hazardous experiment, which neither a good Citizen nor a good Poet would care to undertake. I shall therefore venture to conclude, that the part of the Poet's fiction which dishonours his Deities with the weakness and passions of human nature, was founded in popular legends and vulgar opinion, for which every good poet, from Homer to Shakespeare, has thought proper to have great complaisance. Take from that original genius of our own country the popular belief in his ghosts and hobgoblins, his light fairies and dapper elves, with other fanciful personages of the Gothic mythology; and you sap the true foundation of some of the most beautiful fictions that ever Poet's imagination produced". And Herder, discussing the nature and origin of popular song, which he had persistently held before the eyes of the Germans for their own good, wrote: [16] "The names and voices of the oldest Greek poets bear witness to what poetry was, from what it sprang, and in what it lived. It lived in the ear of the people, on the lips and harps of living singers: it sang history, actions, secrets, wonders and tokens: it was the flower of the idiosyncrasy of a people,

16) Volkslieder. Second part. 1779. XXV. 313 - 314.

of its speech and country, its employments and prejudices, its passions and presumptions, its music and soul. The noblest and liviest of Greek poetry sprang from this source. * . . . The greatest singer of the Greeks, Homer, is at the same time the greatest folk-poet. His glorious whole is not epopee, but epic, tale, legend, living folk-history. He did not sit down on velvet to write an heroic poem in twice twenty-four songs according to Aristotle's rule, or, if the Muse wished it, beyond the rule, but sang what he had heard, presented what he had seen and vividly understood: his rhapsodies did not remain in book-shops and on the rags of our paper, but in the ear and in the heart of living singers and hearers, from whom they were collected late, and at last, burdened with glosses and prejudices, came to us. Homer's verse, as comprehensive as the blue sky and imparting itself as variously to everything which dwells under it, is no school and art-hexameter, but the metre of the Greeks which lay ready for use in their pure and discriminating ear, in their melodious speech, and waited as formative lime for figures of gods and heroes."*

*In "Über die Wirkung der Dichtkunst", 1778, VIII, Herder wrote in similar terms. Poetry exercised its greatest influence when it was still living legend, and there was no alphabetical writing, much less rules. The poet sang what he had seen and heard, carried it with him like a nursling child, and opened his mouth and spoke wonders and truth.

The new outlook on Homer opened up by Wood was subjected to a severe critical survey by Wolf in 1795 in his "Prolegomena ad Homerum"; and the 'Homeric Question' thus raised in a critical sense for the first time has persisted until today. The present commentary on the 'Essay on Homer' does not extend to the field of classical scholarship, and a consideration of the Essay in respect of literature in general must cease with Herder. Criticism had fulfilled its purpose, and the Sturm und Drang was to give practical expression to the aspirations of Germany which had been stimulated and encouraged, and given direction and definition by many years of critical inquiry. Hereafter German national literature was an accomplished fact, and criticism was more a commentary on the fact than a preparation for it. Anything 18th century literature accomplished before the Sturm und Drang is insignificant in comparison with the glorious achievements of Goethe and Schiller: but the way for these was prepared by the Sturm und Drang, which in turn owed much to the stimulation of individual critical works, many of them transported from England: and one of the most important was Wood's Essay on Homer.

Whether any other single work was greater in its effect or had a wider range of influence is immaterial. The question is not one of degree but of kind: and the Essay on Homer was certainly of such a nature as to have a vitalising effect on criticism - and not merely on Homeric criticism, but on general critical theory. The tendency throughout the century had been to seek Homer's authority for new interpretations of the nature of poetry, and this authority was conferred in full measure by Wood's Essay.

In treating one aspect of a development which lasted almost half a century, and which was fed from many various sources, a special emphasis has necessarily been laid on the Essay on Homer and its incidence in that period of German literature which was the culmination of a phase. But if a special case has been made out for Wood it is no unjust one. To apprehend the decisive modification the Essay effected on existing opinions it is only necessary to read a passage from Goethe's "Wahrheit und Dichtung".

17) "By Klopstocks Odes the Nordic Mythology, or rather the nomenclature of its deities, was introduced into German poetry, and although I otherwise gladly made

17) Wahrheit und Dichtung. Jubiläums Ausgabe. XXIV.124-126.

use of everything which was offered me, yet I could not bring myself to make use of these, and for the following reasons. I had a long time ago got to know the fables of the Edda from the Preface to Mallet's Danish History, and had immediately mastered them; they were among those stories which, if requested in company, I best liked to relate. Herder put the review into my hands and made me more acquaint with the heroic legends. But all these things, however highly I valued them, I could not assimilate into my poetic treasury; however gloriously they stimulated my imagination, they were completely incapable of sensual perception, while the mythology of the Greeks had been transformed by the greatest artists of the world to visible, easily imaginable figures which were there in multitudes before our eyes. Gods I allowed to appear very little, because they had their habitation outwith Nature, which it was my plan to imitate. What should have impelled me to substite Wodan for Jupiter and Thor for Mars, and instead of the clearly outlined southern figures to introduce mere verbal echoes into my poetry? . . . A similar, if not equal interest, was drawn from me by the Indian fables, which I first got to know from Dapper's "Travels" and which I joyfully assumed

into my store of tales. But these misshapen and inhuman monsters also could not satisfy me poetically; they were too distant from truth, after which my mind continuously strove.

"But against all these ghosts, antagonistic to art, my sense for the beautiful was to be protected by the most glorious power. That epoch of a literature is ever happy in which great works of the past again crop up and become the order of the day, for they then produce a thoroughly fresh effect. The light of Homer dawned anew in us, and that too in the spirit of the time, which was highly favourable to such a phenomenon; for the continual pointing to Nature at last resulted in us learning to look at the works of the Ancients also from this standpoint. What several travellers had done in explanation of the Holy Scriptures others did for Homer. We were introduced by Guys, Wood gave the thing the swing. A Göttingen review of the at first very rare original made us acquainted with the intention and informed us how far it had been carried out. We now saw no longer in these poems a strained and swollen hero-character, but the reflected truth of an age-old present, and sought as far as possible to make that truth ours. (Wir sahen nun

nicht mehr in jenen Gedichten ein angespanntes und aufgedunsenes Heldenwesen, sondern die abgespiegelte Wahrheit einer uralten Gegenwart, und suchten uns dieselbe möglichst heranzuziehen)." Goethe was not fully in agreement with the pronouncement* that to understand the Homeric world properly it was necessary to know the habits and customs of savage races as described by explorers of the New Worlds; "but these maxims agreed with the prevailing confession of Nature, and in so far we might let them pass."

Goethe's acquaintance with Homer dated from the time when a "Collection of the most remarkable histories of Travel", edited by Herr von Loen in 1754, was put into his hands. The seventh part was a prose translation under the title "Homer's description of the conquest of the Trojan Kingdom", illustrated by copper-plates in the French theatre-style. "These pictures spoilt my power of imagination to such a degree," Goethe wrote, "that for a long time I could visualise the Homeric Heroes only in these forms". These Goethe meant when he

*Goethe's objection was not to Wood, but to Heyne, who in his review said that from descriptions of travels among savages and other uncultured peoples the most could be learned about Homer. He stated, however, that the American savage tribes were a step below, and that the present-day Arabs came nearest to, the manners of the Heroic Age.

wrote of "ein angespanntes und aufgedunsenes Heldenwesen". It has been noted that Goethe had long ceased to regard the Homeric heroes in this light, and that he had recognised Homer's full greatness when at Strasburg. That may or may not be true. It is difficult to conceive that he would make such a fundamental mistake; but even if he did it is a further tribute to Wood, when all that had gone before was obliterated in Goethe's mind by the memory of the Essay on Homer.

PART III (c).

THE ESSAY IN ENGLAND.

Robert Wood, although sometimes regarded as such in Germany, was no English Stürmer and Dränger, and any criticism based on the assumption that he was must fail from the beginning. His essay was a dilettante effort chiefly for his own satisfaction and the entertainment of friends - "an attempt to contribute to the amusement of a vacant hour". He was sufficiently of his century to repudiate the marvellous for its own sake as one of his notes indicates: [1] "Passion for the marvellous an enemy to Truth, History has been prostituted to gratify it: most useful to Priestcraft hence Religious Romance, the terrible and the agreeable distinct species of it; it must not only have its* Antres vast and desarts idle, but its Seas of Milk and ships of Amber": and he was not so obstinately attached to his new views as to exclude the old. He replied to an unknown critic who found nothing proved in the whole dissertation except that Homer was an Asiatic, [2] "I like his manly freedom, especially as I see he speaks as he thinks. If my little farrago of Classical Conjectures sees the light, I shall profit by his animadversions. Upon the whole I think he is very fair, and if he is not more attached to his old opinions than I am to my new ones, we shall meet in a point. Nay, I shall

1) Hall. Soc. MSS. No. 18. p. 47.
* Othello, Act 1. Sc. 3.
Wherein of antres vast, and deserts idle
Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heaven,
It is my hint to speak.
2) Nichols, J.- Biog. and Lit. Anecdotes, pp. 416-419.

go more than half way towards him, if it is Mr. Markland; for, however disposed I may be to think for myself, I am not deaf to respectable authority".

Wood, like many of his contemporaries, was (without defining the terms) neither a "classicist" nor an "anti-classicist". His treatment of Homer on the one hand and the extreme modesty of his claims on the other render both labels inaccurate. [3] A glance at the contents of his library and the scattered notes in his diaries will indicate that he was deeply conversant with current critical developments, and that from his sojourn in the East on the scene of Homeric story he had considered the question of poetry and the nature of its operation on human affections in the light of contemporary criticism. But, while he followed new lines of thought, his meditations had not made him, in a general sense, a conscious revolutionary. His business was entirely with Homer, and his ideas in the Essay were only capable of indirect application to general poetic theory.

3) Wood's library contained, for example, Blair's "Dissertations on the Poems of Ossian", Hurd's "Dialogues", Burke's "On the Sublime and Beautiful". In the interleaved Homer, in which Wood noted thoughts as they occurred to him as he read Homer on the scenes of his story, we find, "Having now compared Homer's pictures of the inanimate material world with the Originals which he copied and found a perfect conformity to Truth and Nature, let us read him over again to collect his different sketches of the human mind. . . I believe we shall find Homer and Hutcheson upon the Passions agree." (No. 18, p. 105).

In this Wood resembled many of his contemporaries whose works are held to be of the greatest significance in this transition period. Percy, for example, in the introduction to the Ballads, thought that the old poets would require much indulgence in his politer age, and claimed no more for them than a pleasing simplicity and an artless charm; and Hurd, in his Letters on Chivalry and Romance, considered that much might be said for "the Gothic", but did not advocate its introduction into modern poetry. The circumstance, then, that Wood made little deliberate effort to extend the critical horizon of 18th century readers, ought not to lead to an underestimation of the Essay; but, recognising the multifarious influences at work throughout the century, it is not proposed to subscribe to the judgment pronounced in 1856 by Hermann Hettner, a German literary historian, in a History of English Literature.

In the third chapter of the third book, under the general title of "Kunstwissenschaft", Hettner discussed successively "Psychological Aesthetics" (Die psychologische Aesthetik) - Burke, Gerard, Home: "The Criticism of Samuel Johnson": "The Downfall of Classicism, the urge towards Originality" (Der Sturz des Klassizismus, der Drang nach Ursprünglichkeit) - Lowth, Wood, Percy, Warton, Blair, Young, Stuart and Revett. Under the last heading he wrote,

4) "While the unrestricted dictatorship of Johnson still held full sway, single voices already began to make themselves heard which foretold the imminent downfall of the mode of thinking which he represented. Ever clearer became the recognition that true and genuine art does not have its roots in stiff artificiality but in plain truth to Nature. And if this recognition came into existence without any reference to the problems of the day it yet could not fail to have a very significant reflex influence.

" If anywhere at all, it is evident here, that even the apparently most remote studies in literature and art, provided they are of the right kind, are always of the most salutory influence on the movements of the present. It was first of all two purely scholarly (philologisch) works which give the time the watchword.

" In the year 1753 there appeared the celebrated book of Bishop Lowth, De sacra poesi Hibraeorum, and in 1769 Robert Wood's Essay on the Original Genius of Homer. Both books had exclusively learned aims in view. Lowth developed with great acuteness and knowledge the nature of Hebrew poetry. . . the vivid power and nobility of its pictures and similes, the peculiarities of its various kinds, the elegy, idyll and ode. Wood, by repeated journeys lasting many years in Egypt, Asia Minor and Greece,

4) Hettner, H. Geschichte der Englischen Literatur 1660-1770, pp. 428-430.

made intimately acquainted with the locus of Homeric poetry, leads the reader with expert vision back to Homer's country and age; for, as he says in the* Preface, it has been much owing to a neglect of this consideration that he has been so often complimented with beauties of which he was not conscious, and charged with faults which he never committed. Everyone knows how powerfully these books affected scholarship (Wissenschaft). With Lowth begins quite a new epoch in the explanation and appreciation of the Old Testament Scriptures; the coldly rationalistic Michaelis in Göttingen and the impressionable Herder and all who stand on their shoulders have their common origin in him. And likewise the Homeric Question acquired through Wood, for the first time, fixed aims and starting points. But we would completely fail to recognise the splendid range of influences of these books if we confined their significance to the narrow bounds of strict specialist study. Lowth had shown how even the most striking pictures and similes of Hebrew poetry are always borrowed from the immediate proximity of local landscape, the prevailing religion, the every-day manners and customs; and in like manner Wood showed that, as he himself expressed it, the more we consider Homer's age and country, the more we discover that he took his scenery and landscape from nature, his manners and characters from life, his persons and facts

*Actually in Conclusion - 1775 edit. pp. 300-301.

from tradition, his passions and sentiments from experience; for whether we attend him in his contemplations on the external beauties of the creation, or follow him into the secret recesses of our own hearts, in either light we trace him by the most natural representations of every characterising circumstance of truth and reality. With these books an insight was again afforded into the simplicity and naturalness which is the distinguishing mark of true art.

"And in the middle of this favourably disposed time there also fell the collection of old English and Scottish Ballads by Bishop Thomas Percy". . . It is generally well known how these seized and stimulated the imagination, although Percy himself did not know what an astounding deed he was doing. Only fleetingly did the thought occur to him that more is owed to these old bards than the poets of his day. Johnson also little thought of the consequences when he encouraged him to publication. . . "The spirits of the old original singers were irrevocably conjured up. No one could banish them. Men had for so long pined in dry sterility; here from a copious fountain sprang the quickening refreshing draught, here was once again fresh naturalness, undisguised feeling, pulsating action. The old rule system was shattered to its very foundations. What do Pope and Boileau matter to us? Nature! Nature!

Fresh and joyous originality,that is the secret of poetry- - But for the present we have nothing to do with the history of English poetry, and only with the critical attitude to art (wissenschaftliche Kunstbetrachtung). In both theory and criticism there came through Lowth, Wood, and Percy a very enduring revolution (Umschwung)".

Hettner in his history obviously regarded English literature from the German standpoint; and, as has often happened before and since, ascribed an exaggerated importance in England to works which in Germany gave a noticeable impetus to critical thought, and which achieved a fame far greater than in the land of their production. Percy's Ballads were something new introduced into Germany, and were received with remarkable enthusiasm, whereas in England they were read with appreciation but no surprise. Wood's Essay created a sensation in Germany, and by analogy has been credited with having appealed in a similar manner in England. Hettner lived early enough to have heard echoes of the Sturm and Drang, and he wrote a reputable history of German literature. His estimation of the Essay may therefore be accepted as reflecting the importance of Wood in Germany; but if applied to England it must be subject to considerable modification, since the development of the two literatures was so dissimilar as to preclude the possibility of a just analogy being drawn.

In Germany of the 18th Century the Sturm and Drang was the culmination of a definite, conscious and complete revolt against the French classicism established in full dominance in a country with no literary tradition. England, on the other hand, had enjoyed an almost uninterrupted literary progress, and consequently "classicism" was never so absolutely and exclusively the mode as to nesessitate a violent and artificial insurrection to dislodge it. Even when "classicism" as represented by Pope was in its greatest ascendancy the elements of reaction were present. The older poets Shakespeare, Spenser, and Milton had never been entirely neglected; the ballads had not completely disappeared, and their resurrection began practically with the century; Dryden's doctrine of the superiority of genius over rules was ready for development when the occasion demanded; and even directly by criticism the citadel of "classicism" was assailed as early as 1724 by* Leonard Welsted, who declared the rules useless as touching only the surface of poetry, its outward form and not its inner beauty; the greatest poets had written before there was criticism, and the most zealous disciples of critics had written only poor poems; instead of studying Aristotle and Horace the poet must observe the human heart, and immerse himself in the works of great poets.

* Welsted, Leonard. Dissertation concerning the perfection of the English Language. 1724. p. 128-129.

Changing times and the fact that Pope, within certain narrow and well-defined limits, had brought poetry to perfection, made some sort of progression or reaction inevitable. The existence of a national literature extending over a century and a half predestined the change to be reactionary, and this reaction, based on inherited literature, was natural, and therefore slow and in no way startling nor violent in its operation. There was, and could not have been, an upheaval such as was witnessed in Germany.

Individual treatises which about the middle of the century stigmatised the whole "classical" attitude as shallow, and superficial were not indicative of general insurrection, and they found a late adversary with a large following in Samuel Johnson. Many of the works which did something to promote a wider tolerance were (if it is possible to use a term mutually exclusive of all other conceptions) written by "classicists". "The historical inquiry into remote ages which was accompanied by an increasing appreciation of the poetry of rude unlearned peoples did not carry away the country in a wave of enthusiasm for "original genius" . Wood himself illustrates the point. His estimation of Virgil, the "imitator", was far higher than would have been permissible in a thorough-going "original genius" enthusiast, and in this respect he

was at one with most of his contemporaries, and succeeding generations of Englishmen in the romantic age.

Progress during the transition was neither uniform nor equal. The reaction received checks, and the new theories did not even divide the country into camps definitely supporting "classicism" or its counterpart. It follows from the nature of the transition that those works which are described as epoch-making in Germany can not justly be so designated, in respect of English literature. Very little in critical literature was absolutely new. Not one work was a complete surprise, and none was startling in its effect.

The Essay on Homer was no exception to the rule, and, in fact, it did not meet with unqualified approval, since it was not introduced to a nation literally gasping for the proof which it conveyed. The author was almost universally applauded for his ingenuity, but his conjectures were often challenged. That the Essay, however, was novel and something of a shock to the older and more orthodox generation would seem clear from the letter quoted above, from a Mr. Clarke to Bowyer the printer who had showed him a copy of the 1769 edition.* "I thank you for the sight of this curiosity. It is like an Oriental novel, wild and entertain-

* Clarke, who found nothing proved "but that Homer was an Asiatic", writes further, "The Introduction of Letters among the Greeks is a fact well-attested - Remarks upon Mr. Pope's translation is a matter of no great moment. . The comparison between the Patriarchal Heroic and Bedouin manners is far from being exact".

ing. The author is certainly a man of genius and diligence, and is possessed of a spirit of enthusiasm, very proper for his subject, and agreeable to his readers. But then such a passion for Paradoxes, as does not agree so well with us old folks; it cools our appetites rather too much, who are willing to read not only for amusement but use. What signifies tilting against some of the best established parts of ancient History, unless you were armed for the purpose, with considerable evidence to support it ?"

The Monthly Review of 1775, in a critical appreciation in general laudatory, quoted passages at length, but gave its reflections "not as by any means coinciding with our opinion. We consider them only as a proof of the ingenious Author's predilection in favour of the originality of the Grecian literature. We know that the weight of evidence is entirely against him. In the section entitled Homer's Manners, we find something more interesting, and better founded". The section on Homer's Language and Learning was not mentioned.

In a detailed examination of the Essay [5] Thomas Howes considered Wood's text passage by passage and almost tabulated his ideas. He disagreed with almost

5) Howes, T. - Critical Observations on Books, pp. 1-75.

everything,and quoted Longinus, Quintilian, Horace Eusthatius, Strabo in support of his objections, with an ultimate appeal to Aristotle. Howes made a vast parade of learning, and parted with regret from his pleasure of castigation:- "There may be still some other observations in Mr. Wood's tract equally liable to censure, among various just remarks, which latter if selected from the former, and reduced to a narrow compass,would not have exposed him to deserve a similar reproof to that against Ovid's works, that he indulged too much to the suggestiveness of his own genius".

The Essay was "liked" by [6] Horace Walpole and was otherwise variously described as [7] "the very excellent Essay on the Genius of Homer" and [8] "a manly piece of criticism".

To what extent, if at all, the Essay in its final form was indebted to literary developments since the Letter to Dawkins, must remain a question. Wood's intention as expressed in the letter was primarily to consider Homer as the father of Geography; that is, to confirm the accuracy of the poet's descriptions from personal observations. In the Essay he extended his plan and applied the same method to other aspects (some

6) Walpole, H. Letters, IX. 217.
7) Nichols, J. Illustr. of the Lit. Hist. of the 18th cent. I. 143.
8) Tyers, T. An Historical Rhapsody on Pope p. 110.

of which were mentioned in the Letter) of Homer's Poetry; but in the Essay he also, as he admitted, "wandered from the humble duty of bearing testimony as an eye-witness to the Poet's veracity".

It has not passed unnoticed that Wood not only raised no objection to the authenticity of Ossian, but cited his example in support of his conjecture that the Homeric poems were orally transmitted; and in one instance it has been stated definitely* that he was helped to his theory by Ossian. If this post hoc propter hoc principle were generally applied the Essay might be accepted as a valuable commentary on how the new ideas in criticism were taking effect; but the letter shows that most of Wood's thoughts had already taken shape in 1753 from observations made on the scene of Heroic action, and from the nature of these observations it is highly probable that Wood thus early had visualised Homer as a non-writing poet.

No great importance can with confidence be attached to the circumstance that the section on Homer's Language and Learning, which has little to do with the proper subject of Homer's Original Genius and which is rather a commentary on the advantages enjoyed by a poet living in a country of rude manners and unadvanced culture, and using a language

*Finsler. p. 372. "With Rousseau's Essay. . Wood was presumably not acquainted. In spite of this Wood indubitably did not arrive at his opinion independently but was led to it by Ossian".
Similarly Hettner stated (p. 430) that one of the most immediate consequences of the Ballads was Chatterton and Ossian.

unspoiled by the pedantry and affectation of a politer age, was not included in the book projected in 1767. It cannot be concluded that this was a later and hitherto unthought of addition, for in 1753 Wood had noted the similarity between the Patriarchal, Heroic and Bedouin manners; and this similarity once recognised it would not be a bold transition to conclude that the Homeric poetry originated in the same manner as that of "The Modern Arab, in whom I have seen the character of prince, shepherd and Poet united, and who retains in his compositions. . . the wildness irregularity and indelicacy of his forefathers, with a considerable share of the same original glowing imagination, which we could discover, even in their extempore productions, and under the disadvantages of crude and hasty translations".

If the Essay had been published in its 1775 form shortly after Wood's return from the East it would probably have received less approval, but might have opened a new field for speculation to those contemporaries of his who were attacking the "classical" outlook in all its branches, and who were directing attention to the poetic qualities of the songs of rude nations. Wood had certainly formulated most, and it may be all, of his opinions in 1753, and he might with much plausibility be credited with having anticipated much of later criticism on "nature", genius and originality" which appealed to Homer for authority. But for practical

purposes conjecture must be laid aside, and only the fact recognised that the Essay appeared in 1775 when much had already been written on originality and genius, and when England had for years been acquaint with the "immediate" poetry of Ossian and the Ballads.

Even thus late, however, the Essay contributed something noteworthy, and was an advance on anything hitherto achieved. Young had based his criticism on assumption; Wood, for those who found his arguments and illustrations satisfactory, proved. Blair had written, to explain why Homer possessed "in several points a manifest superiority" over Ossian - "He introduces a greater variety of incidents; he possesses a larger compass of ideas; has more diversity in his characters, and a much deeper knowledge of human nature. It was not to be expected that in any of these particulars Ossian could equal Homer. For Homer lived in a country where society was much further advanced; he had beheld many more objects; cities built and flourishing; laws instituted; order, discipline and arts begun. His field of observation was much larger and more splendid; his knowledge, of course, more extensive:" and Wood attributed to the very lack of these advantages Homer's unprejudiced observation of Nature. Dissociated from those passages purely in the manner of textual commentary Homer stands out starkly, without qualification or reservation, and for the first time, as the unspoilt singer of Nature. He sang

immediately from the inspiration of what he had seen, felt and heard; the manners he portrayed were those of a time before refinement had obscured the motions of the heart; the language he used was necessarily sincere, since it could not expose him to that pedantry and affection which only comes with advancement; he was free from convention, and trusted solely to his genius.

The Essay brought Homer into line with the most advanced criticism of the day, and was in fact a complete refutation of the English "classical" conception (never hitherto unreservedly revoked in respect of Homer) based largely on Bossu's definition that the epic was an invented narrative which by the allegory of a considerable action should propagate moral lessons. Wood denied Homer's moral intention; and, with specific reference to Pope's Essay on Homer, combated the theory of Allegory - "We have also heard much of those secrets of Nature, and that Physical Philosophy which he is supposed to have wrapped up in Allegory; of that fertility of imagination which could clothe the properties of elements, the qualifications of the mind, the virtues and vices, in forms and persons, and introduce them into actions, agreeable to the nature of the things they shadowed. I could wish, that those, who think so highly of the mysterious wisdom of the ancients, and take so much pains to explain their dark mode of conveying profound knowledge, would tell us, by what method they acquired it. I can

easily conceive a connection between Mystery and Falsehood and Ignorance, but I do not see, what it has to do with Truth and Knowledge. When therefore I admit, that one of these Poets had a deeper purpose than the other, I differ totally from those, who give it to Homer, and consider the meaning of the Aeneid, as more obvious, plain and simple than that of the Iliad or Odyssey. Nor can I help thinking (without offence to the Father of Criticism) that the Greek Poet found great part of his moral in his fable, and did not, like Virgil, invent a fable for his moral."

Wood found a new beauty in Homer, which was also his chief beauty, that he gave an accurate transcript of human nature as he found it, unhampered by any set theory, unhindered by any set aim; "and to this unbiassed investigation of the different powers of Nature, and the various springs of action, not as they are fancied in the closet, transcribed from speculative systems, and copied from books, but as they were seen exerted in real life, we owe the most correct history of human passions and affections that have ever yet been exhibited under one view".

No new convert to the cult of "nature, originality and genius" as the essence of all great poetry, seeking to vindicate his theories by the example of the Greek poet, could have imagined a Homer more directly opposed to the Augustan ideal of polish and correctness, and if evidence

did not exist to the contrary one might be pardoned for identifying the elevated tone which pervades several passages, notably in the section on Homer's Language and Learning, as the mark of the enthusiast. Homeric poetry was addressed to the passions, and men had to be tamed before they were taught; and Homer used the Language of Nature, which, "though afterwards falling into disuse, in proportion to the progress and improvements of what was gradually substituted in its stead, and, though banished in great measure from common use, still retains its powers in the province of Poetry, where the most finished efforts of artificial language are but cold and languid circumlocution, compared with that passionate expression of Nature, which, incapable of misrepresentation, appeals directly to our feelings and finds the shortest road to the heart".

Not everything in Wood was new. As early as 1723 in a collection of* ballads the minstrels had been put on an equality with Homer. Blackwell had depicted him as a wandering bard, who, in the heat of emotion uttered extemporary verse, and from Blackwell the minstrels in themselves must have suggested as analogy with Homer. Blair in his critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian compared the two poets, and Macpherson in his 1765 Ossian drew attention in frequent footnotes to parallel passages. But Wood's

*Attributed to A. Philips.

Essay was the first comprehensive and considered critical treatise to set forth Homer in unqualified terms as an original poet of Nature, and to assess his remarkable beauties on this head. Some parts of the Essay had been partially anticipated or hinted at, but considered as a whole it offered to 18th century England a new viewpoint, and in this respect it shares the significance of other historical treatises, which did no more.

Lowth was not the first to write on Hebraic poetry, nor was Hurd the first to dabble in "the Gothic". Their merit is that they were the first to deal in detail and at length with the attitude they represented, and to give with the definiteness of a properly argued and illustrated inquiry a comprehensive view of a subject so far discussed briefly and without satisfactory method, a subject often mentioned incidentally and sometimes with half apology, and never thoroughly investigated. Wood shares in their merit. If it is in any way true to say that the educated Englishman was immediately struck with the essential difference between Hebraic and Augustan poetry when he was induced to regard the Bible as a literary work, and that he tended to become less contemptuous of the barbarous Gothic when a plausible plea was entered on its behalf, it is equally true that Wood contributed to a wider critical outlook when he rescued Homer from the orthodoxy of "classical" criticism, and conferred the authority of his example on

poetry which was the immediate expression of the emotions of individuals who had no preconceived notions of any poetic conditions to be fulfilled.

From this circumstance the Essay on Homer acquires its significance in the critical literature of the century. How far Wood was responsible for a revolution in theory is neither relevant nor capable of solution. It may be stated, negatively, that it is impossible to class him (or Lowth, or any particular author) with the Ballads, which did more to affect a change in taste than any single work, and perhaps all treatises together. But the Essay on Homer found readers in England, and it was worth reprinting half a century after its first general publication. Such being the case it is worthy of consideration as anexample of that historical criticism which, by refusing to judge poetry of past ages by canons which were unknown when it was produced, encouraged individuality and contributed to that tolerance and wider catholicity of taste which made the new poetry of the 19th century possible.

APPENDIX I.

RECORD OFFICE. LONDON.

CORRESPONDENCE OF Ist. LORD & LADY CHATHAM.

(In this correspondence are included 13 Letters foom Wood to Chatham, which are not printed in the published correspondence of the latter.)

1758 Aug.

Louisburg taken. Garrison (24 Comp. of Marine & 4 Battalions) prisoners of war. Ships all burnt of which 5 of the line.

Mr. Secretary Pitt.

Mr. Wood. Louisburg taken.

50m past Eight.

Edgecumbe and Capt. Amherst are come with news--

1757 Aug. 14th.

Sir

I had the pleasure of informing you that your directions were observed with regard to the recommendation of the Bishop and others; the particulars you had not time to hear; the reprieve for a month was sent from the other office & the reference to the Judge made. The receipt of the reprieve has been acknowledged, so that there can have been no omission; the pardons for Samson & for Tomkins & Margrest were also sent from our Office & that for Mead recommended by Crope & Olmius is ready for signing if you approve of it; it dont press as to time.

As you may have some orders for town I send you a Messenger; as I see the Duke of Newcastle mentions Frederick, I send you a paper which he (Frederick) gave me some time ago, as I know him to be a very active and troublesome fellow, & as Lord Holdernesse (to whom I shew'd this paper) agreed with me in thinking him an Avantarier, I begged him to apply no more to me but told him he should be sent for if wanted; in short he has got acquainted with all the Offices & I think it extremely well worth while to take care that he is not employ'd against the Government; he is a German, educated in Italy, idle and extremely poor - perhaps this intimacy with Paoli and knowledge of Corsica might be made use of;

he says that, if the Minister will give what he undertakes a proper sanction, he'll desire no other assistance than what he can procure in the City to reduce Corsica.

I am with the greatest truth & respect

Sir, Your most Obedt. & most

humble Servt.

Robt. Wood.

Cleveland row

August 14th 1757.

R. Honble Mr. Secretary Pitt.

Cleveland row Sept. 13. 1758.

Sir

Should I distress you by this letter I beg you'll attribute the indiscretion of it to my partiallity for a family which yeilds to none in zeal for the publick Service under your Administration.

Mrs. Howe, after the first burst of grief upon an interview which brought her brother to her mind, ex: :plained to me the desire of the town of Nottingham to return one of their family in her late Brothers room, & the desire of the family that the Colonel of Louis: :burg should be the person; the inclosed extract of a letter from Lord Howe will shew the Duke of Newcastle's views; Lady Howe is very indifferent about offending His Grace, by putting into the papers, tomorrow, the inclosed Advertisement. Were she sure that an opposition to him would not be considered as an opposition to Administration, & disrespectfull to you, her Ladyship is sure of success; but no time is to be lost. I can absolutely answer for Mrs. Howe's discretion or I should not take this liberty.

I am, with great respect

Sir

Your most Obedt.

humble Servt.

Robt. Wood.

Cleveland row Jan. 26 1759.

The enclosed from the other office should have gone by Butson had it been ready.

Three flanders Mails just arrived contain nothing worth sending to the King till the usual hour tomorrow.

Baron Munchausen desires I may inform you, with his Compliments, that he has taken care of your letters of Notification; and having a letter from Prince Lewis, himself he communicated the news early this morning to the King who received it with tranquillity.

The Duke of Newcastle desires I would let you know the King is greatly affected, & more anxious than ever about accomodating affairs with the Dutch. His Grace desires that I would add that the King took very kindly your Inquireys about the state of His Majesty's health. His Grace expects to see you at Court tomorrow to talk upon thd subject of His letter from Holland.

I have taken care to see Lady Betty Waldegrave & Lord Frederick Cavendish early, with such notice of this event as they might think proper to communicate in case it had not been done by Lord Holdernesse.

The King has ordered deep mourning for next Sunday.

Cleveland row May 20. 1759.

Sir

The letters for Guadelupe, which you returned yesterday, were immediately sent to the Office to be dispatched. My Servant soon came back with an account of the packets being picked out of his pocket. Such an accident happening in day time, to a sober servant recommended to me out of your family where he had lived some time, and fully apprized of the improtance of every packet which go's to the Office with your name and seal, would be suspicious, could I in the least doubt his honesty. Turning him away, as an example to the next, is the only thing left to be done, for both your's, Mr. Rivers's, and my servants must be trusted with packets, or the Office business must stand still; and that has never & must be done even when Messengers do their duty. All care shall be taken to recover the packet, & the letters which I send you herewith (if you sign & return them any time this evening or tomorrow morning), will reach Portsmouth before the Vessel can be ready.

I suppose You'll think Mr. Porter's letter, which go's to you herewith, deserves an answer. As there is no better conveyance that I can think of, I have determined to send the letter you gave me from the King of Prussia, to Admi. Boscawen by a sloop which Cleveland tells me is to sail immediately for the Mediterranean, to be forwarded by the first convoy to Consul Crawley at Smyrna who will dispatch

a Janisary with it to Constantinople in four days. If you think this a proper method I shall consider your silence as approbation, but should you intend to make use of the same conveyance for any other letter I should have your order to stop the sloop.

I am

with great respect

Sir

Your most Obedt.

humble Servt.

Robt. Wood.

Cleveland row May 20. 1759.

Sir

I beg you'll do me the justice to believe that no body can take a more sincere part in that pain of mind, which you express so very strongly upon the accident which had happen'd. In whatever light I may consider it myself, I should be unpardonable could I look with indifference upon anything which you talk of as a most overwhelming misfortune & disgrace to you & on all accounts the most distressfull event that has yet happen'd to you in the course of your life. If those be your feelings upon the occasion I leave it to your delicacy & sensibility to guess what mine must be, who alone have brought those misfortunes upon you; but however warmly I say share your concern, it would be a piece of very disingenuous & unworthy complaisance to say that I can discover any equal ~~equal~~ to the anguish of mind you labour under, which I should not take the liberty of saying did I not think it my indispensable duty to be very free & open upon every point where the opinion which governs me, may (in the station in which I have the honor to be employed under you) have critical consequences with respect to you.

Servants have allways been employed in the absence of messengers: this grows in proportion as business is removed from the Office. Upon this known praecedent I have acted, & in our office, there being no plan of duty for any person, I have nothing but praecedent for my guide; Jackson being

order'd to go with a letter to Mr. Grenville, I did not think it proper to postpone the dispatching of a minuted packet of consequence from you, till Jackson's return, especially as I was thoroughly persuaded my servant was a safer conveyance than Jackson. I speak in the language of one who means to get business done, rather than put it off himself. The servant I sent of this short message, in a very fine evening, has answer'd the character, given of him by your upper servant, of honesty, sobriety and diligence, in favour of which qualitys, so necessary to me, (having got Lady Hesters approbation through Roberts) I dispensed with his being in every other respect an awkward bad servant. He has never been a moment out of the way since I have had him night or day, of which I can speak with certainty as I regularly lock my own doors every night & keep the key's. In short if I have the least judgement of Characters he is an honest slow lad to be depended upon for his assiduity, & nothing else.

As it is late I shall trouble you no more at present upon this accident, a very disagreeable one no doubt, & most so to me; it can not, it shall not bring any <u>disgrace</u> upon you. If the King is to be made uneasy about it (I dont know why) it is very evident that you cant answer for a packet which was deliver'd to your secretary carefully made up, directed and minuted in your own hand. As for my part being as conscious of care & dispatch in this as in any other part of my duty, I only feel for a most disagreeable accident,

but still an accident, except what you have added by the extraordinary uneasiness I meet with, to my great surprize, in your letter, & cant, in this instance take blame however sensible I am of deserving it from being so unequal to my duty in most others. I am,

with the greatest respect, Sir,

Your most Obedt. Humble Servt. Robt. Wood.

P. S. I dont know the foundation of your fears about General Barrington's Commission, which could not possibly be in the lost packet; that Commission & the letters shall be duly dispatched.

St. James's Square May 21 1759. The inclosed hasty scrawl wrote last night & which I hope will be excused should have gone this morning; the packet is found & brought to Mr. Pitt's unopened. Lord Barrington begs a sight of the letter to his brother. Shall he see it.

Cleveland row Sept. 8 1759,
7 o'Clock. A.M.

Lt. Colonel Amherst is this moment arrived, & will wait upon you if you think proper. He brings nothing more than what the New York Gazette told you. General Amherst took possession of the lines of Ticonderoga July 24, a good deal surprized at finding the French abandon them.

Lt. Colonel Amherst knows nothing of the taking of Niagara, having sailed Aug. 2d, nor of Wolfe's landing. Colonel Townshend is killed. This account, which is very short, together with that of Niagara shall be put in the Gazette this night, which shall be put to all your freinds.

Cleveland row 5 Nov. 1761.

Mr. Wood presents his compliments to Mr. Pitt & begs leave to acquaint him that Captian Barton had procured three Belleisle cows, which he hoped to have had the pleasure of bringing home to Mr. Pitt; but being ordered upon a distant service, he has recommended the cows to the care of Captain Randall, a Master & Commander, who has promised to send them, by the first transports, to Portsmouth, & to apprize Mr. Wood of it, that somebody at Portsmouth may be directed to receive them.

Cleveland row 9 Nov. 1761.

Dear Sir

I dont know how this letter, which so expressly relates to myself, can claim the merit of any attention to the Dignity of your Character; but if you can place any part of it to that Account I am sure your Candour will do me that Justice.

The indulgent manner in which you were pleased to over rate my poor services was most flattering to me; & your intention of giving me any mark of your approbation, was, & is, perfectly satisfactory. Neither Diffidence or Impatience occasions my renewing the Subject, but as, in spight of my own insignificance, the honor of a connection with you, during the Period of your glorious Administration, keeps one still in publick view, as far as you are concerned, I could wish that at this conjuncture (so critical to my character) any malicious insinuations of worthlessness on my part, or neglect on yours might be obviated or contradicted.

In short the propriety of the present moment strikes me, not because it may promise success (for when you have asked I am amply rewarded) but that it ascertains the true Value of your application which success cannot affect. For this reason I consult you alone on this matter, nor shall I directly or indirectly mix any body else in it. My having declined Lord Egremont's offer gives me no little to trouble

him, was it otherwise proper, & as to those (perhaps more your Enemy's than your freinds) who have talked to me on this subject, I have, at least in appearance, suspended their judgement by expressing my strong reasons of being more than satisfied.

It would be impertinent in me to point out a mode of application, whether by you in person, or thro' the official Channel of your Successor, or by making me the humble Bearer of your favourable Testimony. You alone can decide.

I shall only add that, being already in possession of the honor of your having thought of the board of Trade for me, a less conspicuous & less profitable mark of favour would be full as satisfactory: the lowest annuity that could be thought of, to my wife for life or years, would give me more pleasure & be more consistent with my plan of indepen: :dence.

So much about myself is inexcusable; allow me to conclude by assuring you that, whatever I may or may not owe to you, as your Secretary, shall, in no shape, influence my sense of what I owe to you, above all men, as a member of the Community, a gratitude which no private motives shall either heighten or suppress.

I am

with perfect truth & respect

Dear Sir

Your most Obedt. humble Servt.

Robt. Wood.

Cleveland row 16 Nov. 1761.

Dear sir

The first moment I could disengage myself from some indispensable office business I send to beg leave to wait upon you, to return you my most sincere & gratefull thanks for your kind letter. I was sorry to find that you were gone out of town, but I shall take the first opportunity, after your return, to express how much I feel the great Value of so honorable a testimony. This matter has hitherto remained with me, nor have I had yet time to determine how I shall contrive to let it reach the proper place.

I am

with the most gratefull sentiments of

Duty & respect

Dear Sir

Your most obedt.

humble Servt.

Robt. Wood.

Cleveland row 8 July, 1762.

Dear Sir

I have inclosed the two letters, which you do me the honour of entrusting to my care, to Lord Granby, with one of my own to his Lordship, & Mr. Larpent has charged himself with my Packet. I must sincerely congratulate you upon so glorious an opening of the Campaign. Colonel Boyd tells me he took the parole of those officers mentioned in the Gazette and believes there might be as many more as would make the number 200. The particulars are not yet come. As all the papers of the Intendant des Magazins et des fourages have been taken, Boyd says that Prince Ferdinand will know the state of the Enemy's provisions & be enabled by that means to direct his operations accordingly; we may therefore hope for further good accounts. I beg my respects to Lady Chatham.

I have the honour to be

with great truth & respect

Dr. Sr.

Your most obedt.

humble Servt.

Robt. Wood.

Stretfieldsay 12 Oct. 1766.

My Lord

I hope the inclosed will plead my apology for a liberty which I should not presume to take upon a matter of less publick consideration. Mr. Bruce, a dissenting clergyman of Dublin, of a respectable character, & much in the confidence of that sect of men, knowing that I had the honor of being the Channel of your Lordships favourable Sentiments with regard to a request of that body, which did not succeed because your Lordship retired, at this time, from office, renews the application to that Quarter from which alone he & his friends have expectations. I can not justify to myself any other step, upon the receipt of such a letter, than that of laying it before your Lordship. When you do me the honor of returning it, I shall write to Mr. Bruce, and recommend to him any other Channel which your Lordship may judge more proper to convey your, or his, thoughts on this head, and advise him to apply directly himself, or to proceed as he has begun, if it is not convenient; wishing neither to meddle or to decline, but as it may be agreeable, save trouble, & promote an object, which, under your Lordships protection wanted little more than the forms of office.

Allow me to take this opportunity of congratulating your Lordship upon the late marks of His Majesty's favour, in which Mrs. Wood begs leave to join, as also in respectfull compliments to Lady Chatham.

I am

with great respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

most Obedt.

humble Servt.

Robt. Wood.

Mr. Wood presents his Complmts to Mr. Pitt & hopes he'll excuse the liberty he has taken of leaving a turtle in German Street, which has had a very quick conveyance from Martinico.

Mr. & Mrs. Wood not hearing when Mr. Pitt passed thro' town, in his way to or from Stow, were disappointed in their intentions of paying their respects, but propose doing themselves that honor some morning very soon. They join in compliments to Mr. Pitt, Lady Chatham & Miss Mary Pitt & hope all the family are well.

Stanhope Street Friday 2md

(At back of letter--)
(To the Right Honble. William Pitt Esqr.)
(Mr. Wood 1769. at Hayes.)

CORRESPONDENCE
OF
WILLIAM PITT,
EARL OF CHATHAM.

Edited by the executors of his son,
John, Earl of Chatham,

And Published
From the Original Manuscripts in their
Possession.

London:
John Murray, Albemarle Street
MDCCCXXXVIII.

Vol. II. p. 246.

Robert Wood, Esq. (x) to Mr. Pitt.

Stanhope-street, September 3, 1763.

Dear Sir,

Finding myself disappointed in my scheme of waiting upon you this morning, by my leg not being so well as I expected, I cannot help acquainting you with the principal object of my intended visit.

The arrangement which you are supposed to have proposed to the King, as necessary to your entering into his Majesty's service, is industriously spread about; and the very extensive and almost universal proscription of those who are at present in employment is propagated, with some animad: :versions of yours upon characters, the majority of which is set forth in strong colouring.

All this is too vague and general to trouble you with; but the particular assertion which I wished to have communi: :cated to you in person is, that you proscribe the Duke of Bedford, and all his close friends and connections, without any further thoughts of Lord Gower or Rigby, who were to be excluded, not let down; and that his Grace might some time hence, but not at present, have a place, though not of business. Lord Sandwich is gone, yesterday, to Woburn, with this account; having been first referred, for the truth of it, to the great person to whom you explained yourself. Rigby, who told me

this, added that it was not like you.

If this communication be either useless or improper, there is already too much of it. You will excuse it for the uprightness of my meaning; who most heartily wish to see an end of all temporary, contemptible expedients, to retard a rational plan for restoring that dignity and confidence to administration which is lost;- a very difficult task, which becomes more so by weak procrastination, and must, sooner or later, fall to your share.

I am told that on Tuesday there will be a secretary of state, to whom I may give up the papers. My most respectful compliments to Lady Chatham, and all your family. I am, with perfect truth and respect, dear sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

R. Wood.

P. S. Lord Bute's having taken leave of the King for a year, and Lord Shelburne's resignation, if true, cannot be news to you. I am very sensible of the awkward (and in the light I see it, distressing to you) circumstance of Lord Sandwich being referred to the secretary of state to <u>the great person</u>. Though the contents of his letter are unknown to any body, and merely suggested by what I feel to be right for any use you please, yet duty and respect make it unbecoming in me wantonly to

use that name. I wish the same respect may have been observed by my superiors.

(x) A few days after this letter was written, Mr. Wood resigned the situation of under secretary of state; which he had filled for several years.

Vol. II. p. 249

Robert Wood, Esq. to Mr. Pitt.

Brompton, September 6, 1763.

Dear Sir,

The letter which you did me the honour of writing on the third, entirely justifies the opinion I had of that matter. I hope the cautious use I have made of what you say, in a letter to Rigby, will not be disapproved by you, as I did not venture to quote you. The whole expectations of the present half-formed administration are from the effect their misrepresentations will have upon the minds of the people.[x] The Duke of Bedford is to be in town this night to have the story, which was carried to Woburn, from its source, which is most indecently made responsible for exaggeration, indeed for contradiction.

I hear that, if his grace is not prevailed upon to accept the place of president of the council, the Duke of Leeds is intended for that employment, and that Lord Hillsborough is to go to the board of trade. Rivers, from whom I have this news, tells me that Lord Halifax has made his arrangement for the southern department, and that Lord Sandwich succeeds him in the northern. I suppose this will be known to-morrow at the levee, where I intend to go if my leg will allow me. I shall certainly pay my respects to

you at Hayes, some morning before I leave town. Mrs. Wood joins in respects to Lady Chatham. I am, with perfect truth and respect, dear sir,

Your most obedient
humble servant,
Robert Wood.

x On the 9th of September, the Duke of Bedford was appointed president of the council, and Lord Sandwich secretary of state.

APPENDIX II.

A NORTH BRITON EXTRAORDINARY. -- THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 1763.

(From John Almon's "The Correspondence of John Wilkes".)

(Vol. I. p. 176ff.)

This North Briton was printed by Wilkes at his press in his house, and was never published.

A NORTH BRITON EXTRAORDINARY.

(Mr. Wilkes printed at his press in his house, a NORTH BRITON EXTRAORDINARY, written by a late director of the East India Company. From some fluctuations in the politics of the company, it was never published. But being a paper containing many historical facts of great public interest it is deserving of a place in this work.)

Dicere verum

Quid vetat?

THURSDAY; APRIL THE 7TH, 1763.

Whatever difference we may find in other respects between the present and late minister, in the exertion of a determined and inflexible resolution, they certainly bear a resemblance to each other. One distinction, indeed, ought to be made even here, that Mr. Pitt's resolution arose from conscious virtue, and the earl of Bute's from conscious power; but to the credit of the latter we must observe, that he hath shewn as inflexible a spirit in supporting every measure which was wrong, as the former could possibly maintain in promoting what was right. Regardless of all petty quality and private consider:ations, blessed with the most excellent qualities of head and heart, and sincerely attached to the interests of his country, Mr. Pitt proceeded with that well-grounded con:fidence, to which he was intitled by those qualifications, and in which he was justified by the most extraordinary

success. Without any real regard to this country, wholly engrossed by private views, the qualities of his head as yet doubtful, and those of his heart too plain, the earl of Bute hath, through his administration, behaved with that insolence, which in narrow minds is always the consequence of power When I mention insolence, I would e supposed to include meanness; for they always are to be found in the same place; and however different they may appear, wait only for a difference of circumstances to call them forth, and to prove them inseparable. In both these virtues, I apprehend the present minister stands unrivalled, and the infection seems to spread through all his coadjutors. Numberless instances might be produced to justify this remark; but no one is more proper, and better calculated to shew both these excellent qualities operating at one time, and on the same subject than the treatment which our East India Company in general, and Mr. Rous, a very worthy member of it in particular, have met with. However trifling this affair may have been talked of, it is, in reality, of very serious and general consequence. At this time especially, when their election is drawing nigh, it is highly necessary that a clear and full account of that affair, with the real merits of the case, should be laid before the public; for putting it in our power to perform which, we are greatly indebted to the correspondent who hath favoured us with the following letter.

To The NORTH BRITON.

Sir,

As a proprietor, I thought it not only my interest but my duty, to attend the general court when the conduct of Mr. Rous was to be examined. I cannot deny that, from the reports which were spread abroad, I was greatly prejudiced against that gentleman, and flattered myself with some degree of merit, if I could be instrumental in giving him up to public censure, which I had been taught to think he had deserved. For certainly, sir, I could never be justified in supposing him innocent, however boldly he might stand in his defence, when the honour and uprightness of the minister was engaged to prove him guilty; and when a court of directors had considered his misdemeanour as so gross and palpable, that they would not even hear him; that, when called upon, they would not enter into the affair, would not give him an opportunity of explaining his conduct, but forced a friend of the gentleman's to move for his being called to an account at a general court, as one guilty of misconduct, merely to give him an opportunity of proving to the public, that his conduct had been fair and irreproachable. This I could never have believed without proof, though, at the meeting, the proof was too strong to admit of the least exception. Mr. Rous defended himself in such a manner, as to turn the shame intended for him, on his adversaries; he proved his behaviour not only to have been undeserving of

reproach, but even worthy of approbation; and the result of that affair was exactly what every candid man would have wished, what his friends expected, what his enemies feared, but what a stranger, as I was, could never have suspected. As I considered this affair as of the greatest consequence to the future welfare of the company, I was particularly attentive to every thing which passed; I took down the substance of Mr. Rous's defence for my own use, which I now transmit to you for the satisfaction of the public, and on which you are at liberty to make what remarks you think proper, or to have every reader to make his own. You will observe I have taken this affair merely as it was considered, immediately relative to Mr. Rous, and as the affairs of the company were naturally interwoven with his justification; but should be glad if you will in your remarks bring it down to the present time.

The two grand objects of the company, even from the time of commencing the negociation, under Mr. Pitt's adminis: :tration, have constantly been:-

I. A total exclusion of the French from Bengal, where the company enjoy extensive and valuable possessions, and from whence they derive their most profitable trade.

2. In the restitution of French territory, to fix such a period as would leave them nothing more than places of trade, without a single acquisition of territory by conquest or grant from the country powers, and it was found that the

year 1744 or 1745 would effectually answer this purpose.

These views of the company were communicated to Mr. Pitt, in a letter from the chairman, dated the 27th of July 1761, and at that time France acquiesced in what was then proposed.

On the 4th of June, 1762, a copy of the letter, men:tioned above, was transmitted to Lord Egremont, in con:sequence of a conversation which had passed between Mr. Sullivan and his Lordship, in which his lordship had been made acquainted with the contents of that letter, and had desired to see a copy of it.

On the 22nd of June, Mr. Dorrien and Mr. Sullivan had a conversation with Lord Egremont, in which his lordship observed, on the letter to Mr. Pitt, that it contained the outlines of a plan of pacification; but he should be glad, in the most distinct manner, to know the company's expec:tations, and particularly, if they were ready, in return for excluding the French from Bengal, to give them back all their other comptoirs; to which he was answered, that the chairman and deputy would obtain powers from the court of directors for the transaction of this affair; which method his lordship seemed to approve; but when he was reminded, on desiring that their sentiments might be delivered at large in writing, that the French should be the first proposers, he declared, that the company should not be made acquainted with the propositions made by the French, though before the

whole was concluded, the gentleman in the direction should know their objections.

The gentlemen were repeatedly asked by Lord Egremont, if the company would be satisfied with excluding the French from Bengal (which his lordship said he believed they would not submit to) and granting them all their factories and former possessions on the Coromandel coast. To this, answer was made, that it was meant the French should, in that case, possess all which they had possessed before the year 1745, but no grant whatsoever since that period; and that they also meant to exclude the donations to Mr. Duplex and others. They likewise expressed their wishes, that both companies might be prevented from making war with each other, or, at least, that the French might be limited to a certain number of troops: the first of which his lordship declared to be impossible; and the latter to be such an indignity as no nation would bear.

On the 24th of June, the chairman, deputy, and Mr. Sullivan, in consequence of the preceding day's conversation, agreed on the outlines of a plan to be drawn up, as the private sentiments of these three gentlemen, which the chairman was desired to communicate to Lord Egremont.

On the 25th of June, Lord Egremont received this paper from the chairman, and said it was sufficient for his private information; but at the same time said he apprehended the

French would not be prevailed upon to give up the Bengal trade.

On the 9th of July, Mr. Wood, deputy secretary of state, had a meeting at the India House, with the chairman and deputy; at which he told them, that Lord Egremont expected a very regular plan of the company's expectations to be laid before him; and they had conversation concerning India.

On the 16th of July, Mr. Wood came again to the India House and informed the chairman and deputy, that he had directions to lay before them his lordship's sentiments, relative to the conversation to the 9th in writing; which he did, by a letter delivered to them then, but dated the 9th of July, in which was contained, that Lord Egremont having been informed, by Mr. Wood, that those gentlemen understood the only matter relative to the interests of the company, as far as they become an object in future negotian with France, to be contained in Mr. Sullivan's letter to Mr. Pitt, his lordship considered that as the only matter lying before him from the secret committee, and that every thing else communicated, or that had passed in conversation, was not to be made use of - intimating, that it might not be amiss for the secret committee to be provided with the necessary powers, and to digest their thoughts relative to the interests of the company, so far as they might become an object of consideration for his majesty's ministers, when

the two crowns should come to treat of these affairs.

On the 21st of July, agreable to what had been settled by the secretary of state, the secret committee (consisting of the chairman, deputy, Mr. Gough, and Mr. Tullie) were employed at a court of directors, to form a plan for the benefit of the company, to be laid before the ministry, and were also empowered to call in the assistance of any other person, and to report.

Soon after the secret committee met, with Mr. Hume and Mr. Sullivan, when those gentlemen desired time to give their thoughts in writing.

On the 12th of August, those two gentlemen produced their sentiments in writing; but Lord Clive, who was then present, not having been prepared, gave his opinion only in discourse.

At these and other consultations Mr. Sullivan strongly recommended the giving back to the Indian powers the territories adjacent to Masulapatnam, and to make Masulipatnam a neutral city, where each company should have a factory; but neither should be allowed to erect fortifications. This was exactly the doctrine laid down in his plan above-mentioned.

On the 1st of September, at a court of directors, the chairman, after communicating the proceedings of the secret committee, intimated to the court, lest more considerable offers should be expected, the cession of the territories of Masulapatnam unto the Subah of the Deckan had been

thought of, for rendering the terms of which the plan consisted more admissible to the ministry; but that the secret committee, not apprehending themselves justified in coming to any resolution on so material a point, he desired the sentiments of the court thereupon; and the court, after mature debate, unanimously agreed (excepting the deputy chairman, and another gentleman) that it was not proper to give to the country powers the revenues of Masulapatnam, amounting to 50,000l. a year; and that therefore it should be no part of the plan to be laid before the government.

The above resolution was confirmed at the next court of directors.

The plan, which had been approved by the court of directors on the first of September, was left by the chairman at Lord Egremont's office on the 4th. It consisted of twelve articles, submitted with the greatest humility to the consideration of the ministry, enforced with the strongest arguments, and so clearly worded, explicitly commented on, that it was impossible the ministry should not have the clearest ideas of the company's interests in India.

In consequence of delivering in this plan, a letter was received form Mr. deputy secretary Wood, dated the IIth of September, importing Lord Egremont's disappointment in not finding such lights in it, as might facilitate

what he has extremely at heart, which is to procure the most advantageous terms possible for the company, when a peace shall be concluded. His disappointment in not seeing such a confidential communication of their real expectations, as he thought the government entitled to, from the support afforded to the company during the war - his observation, that if the company asked more than they expected to get, they not only laid a very useless burden on the secretary of state, who was disposed to get even more than they asked, was it possible, but also confined and clogged the best intentions in their favour - his declaration - notwithstanding his sincere regard for the company, as a part of the whole, not to lose sight of the latter great object for any partial considerations. Mr. Wood's private opinion - that should the secretary of state find it impossible to keep up the sentiments of the secret committee, with regard to what is to be insisted upon, the company would find it full as difficult to succeed in a negotiation, which they seem desirous of managing themselves.

On the 16th of September the chairman waited on Lord Egremont, in order to obtain an explanation of Mr. Wood's letter of the 11th. His lordship expressed great dis: :pleasure in regard to the sentiments of the secret committee, which had been transmitted to him; and when he was assured by the chairman of the disposition of the directors to do every thing in their power to facilitate an accommodation

with France, and was intreated to point out in what manner the directors might be able to promote that good purpose - his lordship declined giving any answer. But although his lordship was backward in declaring his sentiments, his secretary was not at all so; and very freely and without reserve charged the chairman with chicanery and dealing uncandidly with the government.

Thus treated without doors, and beset (to say no more) within, the secret committee began seriously to consider what might be the consequence of the company's being deserted by the ministry in the negotiations of peace. They con: :sidered of alterations and new propositions, which might be more favourably received by the ministry, and resolved once more to take the opinion of the court of directors upon the point of giving up to the country powers the revenues of Masulapatnam, notwithstanding the resolutions of the two former courts. By this time the court of directos took the alarm, they saw to what a precarious situation the company would be reduced if they were not included in the peace, and therefore, in hopes of obviating all farther difficulties, they determined, though by a very small majority, to agree to a paper laid before them on the 22nd of September, for restoring these revenues and territories to the country powers. This paper was left by Mr. Dorrien at Lord Egremont's office, on the 30th, under the title of the farther sentiments of the secret committee, submitted

to the ministry, being a supplement to their sentiments of the fourth.

The first notice taken of this paper of the 29th of September, was in a letter to Mr. Dorrien from Mr. Wood, dated the 16th of October; in which he mentions that a hurry of business had prevented his returning, agreeable to Lord Egremont's order, the above-mentioned paper, and that he should be glad to put it into the chairman's or deputy's hands, and explain why it was of no use, concluding with these remarkable words:- his lordship not choosing to meddle where he may do harm, or where it is put out of his power to do good.

In a subsequent conversation between Mr. Wood and Mr. Dorrien, on the 20th of October, Mr. Wood declared he had orders from Lord Egremont to say, that - as this was the first time the government had taken upon themselves to make a peace for the East-India company, he expected they would have acted with candour and openness to him; but as he found they had only a mind to throw off a weight from their own shoulders and burden his lordship with it, he was determined not to submit to such usage, as it was no part of his duty to settle a peace for the company, but had only offered it in regard to them, and that the proposals first delivered were such as he should have been ashamed to offer to the French ministry. That the supplement being delivered so long as twenty-six days after the first memorial, Lord Egre:

:mont did not think proper to regard it: had both come together, the plan might have been reasonable. He added, that it had, in the general preliminaries, been proposed to France to restore her comptoirs or factories on the coast of Malabar and Coromandel, as also in Bengal, and a trade allowed them up the Ganges, but that they should raise no fortifications at the latter place, nor be suffered to have any armed force there: this they had agreed to, but with their usual artifice, in saying, all their posses: :sions, instead of their comptoirs, should be restored; which word having a great latitude, he, Mr. Wood, advised Lord Egremont by no means to admit of. That the above memorial being delivered in the interim, his lordship had dropt making any reply, and there the matter rested; but that his lordship had entrusted him, in case he met with any gentlemen in the direction he thought proper to open it to, to say, that notwithstanding he had declined taking one thing upon himself, yet, if the company would prepare one general article to be inserted in the preliminaries, his lordship would try to serve them. After some discourse, Mr. Wood himself drew up the following article, which the deputy chairman desired he might lay before the secret committee, as he could not without their consent venture to agree to any thing of himself.

All the comptoirs taken in India, either by the French or English, to be restored. The French and English to have

nothing more than factories at Masulapatnam: the town and its dependencies to be restored to the nabob; an hundred soldiers to be kept if thought proper by each nation, for protection of trade.

The French, though restored to the trade of the Ganges, and to mere factories for that purpose, are to have no troops or fortifications there.

After this, Mr. Wood declared that Lord Egremont could not meddle any farther, nor deviate in the least from the article the company should propose, and that incase they were left out by being unreasonable in their demands, the blame must fall upon themselves, and his lordship should not postpone the public peace on their account, if the other terms could be settled: he then desired that what the company had to offer might be delivered on Friday morning before ten o'clock, this being Wednesday; there being a council appointed for that day, and he did not doubt but he should prevail upon Lord Egremont to receive it.

This conversation and article were taken into consid:eration by the secret committee, on the 21st of October, and on the 22nd the chairman and deputy waited on Lord Egremont, and requested farther time, that the secret committee might consider the terms to be offered in behalf of the company, according to this (curious) article, drawn up, and delivered by Mr. Wood. His lordship readily acquiesced with this request, and said, he would send them

the article to be proposed for their consideration, subject to such alterations as they should think proper, which should be sent to the court of France, and then the committee should be made acquainted with the result thereof, and be informed from time to time, what passed on the subject.

The chairman and deputy expressed their concern in having incurred his lordship's displeasure, by not fully answering the expectations of government in the memorial offered by the secret committee. To which his lordship answered, he would argue the case coolly and without resentments; but that he thought the committee were not candid in offering such terms as they could not expect the French to comply with. The chairman and deputy then entered into the views of that memorial, and represented the great danger of restoring to the French the territories they had formerly possessed in the Carnatic, as the company would thereby risk the great debt due to them from the nabob, after having engaged in a long and expensive war, to prevent the French from aggrandizing themselves, according to Mr. Duplex's ambitious views. That these considerations in: :duced the company to give it as their real sentiments, that the French ought to be restored only to the state they were in on that coast before the year 1744, and confined as much as possible to a mercantile system; and at the same time to remove a subject of future dissensions, they had been induced to relinquish their own pretensions to Masu:

:lapatnam, thinking likewise that this offer might prevent any obstacle to the general peace. To which his lordship replied, he could see no reason for such a concession, nor that it would answer any purpose; however, at last, it ought to be kept in reserve.

At eight o'clock the very same night (Friday the 22nd of October) a message was sent to Mr. Wood, in writing, to the chairman, encloseng the following preliminary article, by lord Egremont's order, and signifying at the same time, that his lordship would dispatch his messenger on the morrow night, or Sunday morning.

"In the East Indies England shall restore to France the several comptoirs which that crown had before the present war, on the coast of Coromandel and Malabar, as well as in Bengal; but the comptoirs in this last part of India shall not be restored, but on condition that his most christian majesty obliges himself not to erect any fortification, nor entertain any troops there, and the most christian king engages to restore to the king of Great Britain all the conquests, that may have been made by the French forces over the English in the East Indies."

This article thus sent down late at night, and on which no further time for deliberation was given than the next day, was laid before the secret committee about noon, on Saturday the twenty-third of October. It was in vain to hope for any alteration in respect to Bengal, and equally in vain to

mention the year 1744 as the period of restitutions, and extremely difficult to fix a precise meaning to the word comptoirs, which (if it included settlements, factories, and possessions) would instantly restore to France that immense extent of trade, territory, and power, which nothing but Providence had prevented, after the commencement of the war, from bringing utter ruin on our company.

In this dilemma all that the secret committee could do, and more, indeed, than they could expect to succeed, in, according to the present humour of the ministry, was to make some alterations in the period of uti possidetis now set down to them; and with this view they came to a resolution to return the article altered as follows:

"In the East Indies England shall restore to France the several settlements which that crown had at the commencement of the present war between the two companies in India, viz, in 1749, on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, in the condition they shall be found; and also the comptoirs they had in Bengal. But these restorations shall not be made but on condition that his most christian majesty renounces all claim to subsequent acquisitions, and obliges himself not to erect any fortification, nor entertain any troops in Bengal; and the most christian king engages to restore to the King of Great Britain all the conquests that may have been made by the French forces over the English in the East Indies."

The committee also sent up, at the same time, two articles, which they intreated might be made part of the preliminaries, or be considered in the general treaty.

The first related to acknowledging the rights of the present Subah of the Deckan, and the nabob of the Carnatic. The second, to the restoration of the Chinese families and slaves carried from Bencoolen by the count d'Estaign, and a reimbursement of the charges incurred by the English company, on account of the French prisoners of war. A letter was also approved by the committee, and designed by the chairman and deputy, in which all ambiguity of expression was carefully avoided, and the reasons of the several alterations in the preliminary articles plainly and forcibly laid down.

On Sunday the 24th of October, the chairman received a message from Mr. Wood, desiring to have some conversation with him that day, or next morning. The chairman accordingly waited on him, and was told, there having been no actual war in India between the companies, in the year 1749, that those words, "the present war," seemed improper: it was therefore agreed, that the commencement of hostilities should be inserted in their stead, which would cure the impropriety without altering the sense of the article.

On Monday the 25th, at ten at night, the chairman received a letter at Hackney, from Mr. Wood, enclosing the article thus altered, in point of expression only, and

desired an immediate answer, whether it was agreeable to the chairman's idea, as explained the preceding day? This article being the same as seen tn the preliminary laid before the public, was returned to Mr. Wood, exactly as received, with a remonstrance in his letter in favour of the country powers, which was disregarded.

This, sir, is the substance of what Mr. Rous delivered in vindication of his conduct; and however clear and full it was then thought, and must now appear to a considering reader, who will collect and weigh the parts of it together, so as to form a true judgment of the whole; yet, as it is of some length, and of a complicated nature, I think it would not be amiss, in your next paper, to throw together some general remarks on these transactions, not only as they relate to that gentleman's justification, but as they regard the interests of the company.

I am, sir,

Your very humble servant,

A Proprietor.

The North Briton will, with the greatest cheerfulness, comply with the request of his correspondent, and on Saturday next will not only consider the justification of a worthy individual, and the interest of a respectable company, but likewise dare (for what shall not truth dare?) to pay his most humble respects to the ministry, together with his high and mighty agent, Mr. Wood.

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COLLECTION PRESENTED BY THE DESCENDANTS OF

ROBERT WOOD

Homeric scholar and explorer

1716 - 1771

A. DIARIES

Diaries of James Dawkins,

companion of R.Wood

These diaries were copied by Wood's daughter. They are clearly written but the arrangement of the matter in the various volumes is not easy to follow. It is made clear in the following table.

No.	Description.	Date.	Itinerary.
	6 vols. bound in green vellum gold tooled. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in. The 6 vols. con: :tain in all about 500 pp.		
1.	vol. i.	1750 May 5-June 1.	Naples-Smyrna-Sardis.
2.	vol. ii.	June 2-June 22.	Sardis-Thyatira-Per: :gamum-Sinus Eleati: :cus-Constantinople.
3.	vol. iii.	June 23-July 13.	Constantinople-Boursa.
4.	vol. iv. right hand pp.	July 14-Aug. 8.	Boursa-Cyzicus-Lampsa: :cus-Troy-Tenedos-Mytilene.
5.	vol. v. right hand pp.	Aug. 10-Sept. 3.	Lesbos-Phocaea-Scio-Neomene-Teos-Ephesus-Samos.
6.	vol. vi. right hand pp.	Sept. 4-Oct. 10.	Samos-Meander-Magnesia -Laodicea-Hierapolis -Antioch-Mylassa.
/	vol. vi. left hand pp.	Oct. 10-Nov. 26	Halicarnassus-Cos-Cnidus-Rhodes-Alex: :andria-Cairo-Pyram: :ids.
/	vol. v. left hand pp.	Nov. 27-Jan. 5. 1751	Pyramids-Acre-Mount Carmel-Nazareth-Capernaum-Tiberias.

No.	Description.	Date.	Itinerary.
	vol. iv. left hand pp.	Jan. 5-Feb. 6.	Nazareth-Jerusalem-Bethlehem-Rama-Carmel.
7.	Notebook in marbled paper cover. 8¾ × 7¼ in. pp.ca.180	Feb. 16-April 18.	Carmel-Acre-Tyre-Sidon-Beyrout-Damascus-Baalbek-Tripoli-Cyprus
8.	Notebook unbound. 6¾ × 4 in. pp.ca.96	April 18-June 8.	Stanchio-Delos-Athens-Marathon-Thermopylae-Chalcis-Thebes-Delphi-Corinth-Megara-Athens-Porto Leone.

Diary of John Bouverie, companion of R.Wood.

9.	Brown leather pocket book 6¼ × 4½ in. pp.ca.86.	May 25-June 8.	Smyrna-Sardis-Thyatira-Pergamo.
		July 25-Aug. 3.	The Troad.
		Sept. 7.	Tour on the Menander.

Diaries, etc., of Robert Wood.

10.	Unbound paper fascicule. 8¾ × 6¾ in. pp.36.	May 16-June 1.	Covers part of the same ground as No. 8 above. Contains also some inscriptions.
11.	Unbound paper fascicule. 8¾ × 6¾ in. pp.36. (probably by R.Wood)	Sept. 22-Oct. 8.	Covers part of the same ground as No. 6 above.
12.	Brown leather pocket book 6¼ × 4¼ in. Ca.pp.144.	May 25-ca. Sept. 1.	Smyrna-Sardis-Thyatira-Pergamum-Constantinople-Troad-Tenedos-Mytilene-Phocaea-Ephesus. Covers the same ground as Nos. 2,4,5, and 9 above.

(probably by R.Wood)

B COPIES OF INSCRIPTIONS

13.	Parchment pocket book. 5½ × 3½ in. Ca.pp.74. (probably by R.Wood.)	Copies of inscriptions made during the tour; includes Athens, Baalbek and Palmyra.
14.	Notebook in marbled paper cover. 15 × 9¾ in. Ca.pp.60	Copies of inscriptions made during the tour: includes Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt. Contains also a packet of loose miscellaneous inscriptions.

C. SKETCH BOOKS

Drawings by Borra, Italian artist, companion of R. Wood.

No.	Description.	Itinerary.
15.	Parchment book with flap. 7½ × 5½ in. Ca.pp.288.	Sketchbook covering the tour.
16.	Parchment book with flap. 11 × 9 in. Ca.pp.142	Sketches of Naples, Asia Minor, Egypt.
17.	Paper fascicule unbound. 9½ × 7½ in. Ca.pp.34.	Sketches of Damascus, Palmyra, etc.

D. MISCELLANEOUS TRAVEL NOTES.

18.	Parchment book. 12¾ × 8½ in. Ca.pp.174.	Extract from Robert Wood's MS. notes made by his daughter.
19.	Parchment book with flap. 11½ × 8½ in Ca.pp.200.	'A Universal history.' This has the appearance of being historical studies made by the travellers for the purposes of their tour. The subject matter is arranged under the following headings: Egypt-Palestine-Syria-Asia Minor-Greece-Archipelago-Italy-Sicily-Cyprus.

E. PUBLISHED RESULTS OF THE TOUR.

20.	Book in half morocco. 21½ × 15½ in. pp.iv 80 106 plates.	Wood (R.). The ruins of Palmyra and Baalbek.
21.	Unbound in brown paper cover. 12 × 9 in. 57 plates. Paris, 1819.	Wood (R.). Les ruines de Palmyra autrement dite Tedmore au desert.

F. HOMERICA.

22.	Interleaved parchment with flap. 6¾ × 4 in.	Homer. Homeri operum omnium quae extant Tomus prior sive Ilias Graece et Latine juxta editionem. S. Clarke.

No.	Description.	Itinerary.
	pp.619 + Index of 9 pp., the whole with interleaved matter, making a vol. of pp.1256. Amsterdam, 1743. The interleav: :ing of the index has been used for copies of inscriptions.	This was the copy of Homer used by Wood in the preparation of his Essay on the original Genius and Writings of Homer. See below No. 25. According to Professor Jebb (Introduction to Homer, p.107) this latter work was the work which had most effect before the appear: :ance of Wolf's Prolegomena upon the Homeric question. Wood's doc: :trine about writing became in fact the very keystone of Wolf's theory.
23.	Parchment covered note: :book. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{5}{4}$ in. pp.ca.260.	This notebook seems to have been used by several of the travellers, but it includes some notes on Homer which are evidently by Wood.
24.	Marble covered notebook. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{5}{4}$ in. pp.ca.40.	Copy of aletter from R.Wood to J.Dawkins written in Rome after the two travellers had separated after their Eastern tour. It is in effect a preliminary draft of the author's Essay on the original Genius and Writings of Homer.
25.	Calf. $11\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp.xvi 342. 1775.	Wood (R.). An Essay on the original Genius and Writings of Homer.

G. MISCELLANEOUS ADDITIONS.

26.	Unbound marbled paper covers. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in. pp.32 + 3 folding plates Paris, 1754.	Barthelmy (L'Abbe). Reflexions sur l'alphabet et sur la langue dont ou se servoit autrefois a Palmyre.
27.	Parchment Book. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ in. XXXVI anno: :tated plates. Rome (N.D.).	Vignola (J. Barozzio Da). Regola delli cingue ordini d'architettura.
28.	Unbound paper. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 9$ in. pp.(vi) + $62\frac{1}{2}$ XXXI plates. Amsterdam, 1660.	Laurenberg (J.). Graecia Antiqua. Ed. S. Pafendorf.

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